

# THE NATION

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## EVENTS OF THE WEEK

THE first reactions to Mr. MacDonald's speech at the close of the Round-Table Conference are sufficient to show that it marked the end of the first stage, and only the first stage, in a long struggle. It is clear that moderate opinion in India, and especially the business community, is very suspicious, and the first effect of the speech was a fall in the Bombay Exchange. Later there was a tendency to appreciate the constructive side of the work done, and this was reflected in some portions of the Indian Press. Extremist opinion on both sides suggests that when the lion and the lamb are asked to lie down together it is sometimes difficult to decide which is the lion and which is the lamb. The AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA of Calcutta says that the speech was "a cup of milk for a hungry lion," while Sir Michael O'Dwyer, in the congenial atmosphere of Cheltenham, talks about the Conference "dividing the skin of the dying lion." We must expect a flood of malicious comment in both countries, but there are grounds for optimism in the generally favourable reception of the proposals in America and on the Continent. Indian politicians are extremely sensitive to foreign opinion, and if there is a general consensus of opinion outside both countries that the terms are fair and practical, there is little doubt that many prominent Indians now associated with the Congress Party will be ready to consider them favourably. We must not expect any surprising *volte-face* on the part of the Nationalist Press, but if we can avoid any suspicion of going back on our proposals there is likely to be a steady accession of strength to the Hindu Moderates. Plenty of irreconcilables will remain outside, but the new

Constitution should meet with enough support to get it started.

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The Roman Catholic victory on the Education Bill revealed a series of blunders in Parliamentary tactics. Mr. Scurr was permitted to move his amendment in an atmosphere in which no one dared to inform the House that the Roman Catholic demands had ever been accompanied by threats or had ever referred to matters extraneous to the Bill. Cabinet Ministers left the House under the impression that if only religious passions were not roused the Roman Catholics would be defeated. In this atmosphere of Christian beatitude the case against the Roman Catholics went by default. No one dared to rebuke them but Mr. Isaac Foot, a lonely Cromwell on the empty Liberal benches. All the rest of the Liberals were at a Party meeting. Sir Charles Trevelyan refused to inform members on which side of the fence he stood. So long as unmannerly controversy was avoided and no insinuations of "blackmail" were made against the Catholics, which way members voted was deemed to be a minor matter of Labour Party discipline. After the result of the division had been announced Mr. MacDonald informed the House that "no question of principle was involved." Mr. Churchill told Mr. MacDonald that he was a master "of the art of falling down without hurting himself." The School Attendance Bill then proceeded to its third reading, having been amended so that it now will not come into force until eighteen months have elapsed, and not even then unless an agreement has been reached to provide grants for non-provided schools.

The debate on the second reading of the Trade Disputes Bill began on Thursday. A second day has been allotted; the division—on which the fate of the Government depends—stands over, therefore, till next week. As we go to press, the attitude of the Liberal Parliamentary Party is still not definitely known. Many members, it is understood, are determined to resist the restoration of "contracting-out"; a smaller number have strong views on the (alleged) "legalization" of the general strike. Their memories are short; they forget that in 1927 the party denounced the provisions of Mr. Baldwin's Act as both tyrannical and ineffective. The wording of the new Bill is admittedly not satisfactory, but, after all, it is susceptible of amendment in Committee; to refuse the Bill a second reading, in the light of the party's past protestations, would in our view damn Liberalism irretrievably in the eyes of the electorate. An agreement to abstain would perhaps best do justice to the position; failing that, we shall once again see the party handsomely represented in both lobbies.

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The text of the Representation of the People Bill is, on the whole, in accordance with expectations. The alternative vote is introduced (as from the date on which the Bill becomes law); double-member constituencies are to be divided, with the exception of the City of London; the University constituencies are to be abolished; and the "business premises" qualification disappears. Here again, however, an exception is made of the City of London, but an elector having a business qualification in the City must decide whether he will vote there or in his own constituency. The use of "vehicles" at elections is to be restricted; they may be "registered" for general use with the Returning Officer, who will dispose of them as he thinks fit, but otherwise may only be employed to take members of the family to the poll. The maximum scale of permissible expenses is again cut down; it now becomes five-pence per voter (instead of sixpence) in the counties, and fourpence (instead of fivepence) in the boroughs. Such is the Bill as at present drafted. It is significant, however, that its long title is so drawn as to permit some extension of its scope; it is described, *inter alia*, as "making provision with respect to speakers at election meetings . . . and to restrict the purposes for which the funds of political organizations may be applied." Mr. MacDonald has apparently a Joker or two up his sleeve.

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To the general satisfaction, work was resumed in the South Wales coalfield on Tuesday. The provisional settlement, negotiated by Mr. Graham and Mr. Shinwell after discussions lasting over a fortnight, was confirmed by the miners' delegate conference by 169 votes to 72. The terms agreed upon provide for a continuance of existing wage-rates until the end of February; in the meantime the Conciliation Board for the area will review the questions at issue. The Board's decisions are to operate for three years—subject, that is, to there being no further change in the statutory hours of work. Everything depends, then, upon the line taken by the "independent" Chairman of the Board, whom the Lord Chief Justice has been invited to nominate. There is no such good news to report from Lancashire. The lock-out of 160,000 weavers took effect on Saturday, and must at least continue until the result of the ballot of the Weavers' Amalgamation, as to their willingness to negotiate on the basis of more-loom-to-a-worker, has been made known. By that time Lancashire will have lost £1,000,000 in trade and

the weavers £160,000 of their funds. Harmful repercussions are inevitable, too, in the spinning sections of the industry.

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Meanwhile, the scene shifts to "another part of the battlefield." The Railway National Wages Board met on Monday, under the chairmanship of Sir Harold Morris, to consider the companies' claim for a general reduction of wages. The case for *some* reduction (though not, we think, for such drastic cuts as have been suggested) is a strong one. The railways estimate that their receipts for 1930 will fall short by £13.75 millions of their "standard revenue" as determined by the Railway Rates Tribunal, while on the present basis of expenditure their 1931 revenue will be £16.50 millions short. Increased charges can only result in a further falling-off. Wages, however, are still based on the settlement of 1920; the cost of living index is 155 (1914 = 100), while the present index of "conciliation grade" wages is said to be 220. The workers, naturally, are putting up a closely argued defence of their present position. They criticize strongly the new minima proposed (38s. weekly), and Mr. B. S. Rowntree's "dietary scale" is once again brought into the limelight. The facts remain that railway workers' wages are well above the level of those obtained by most workers, and that high traffic costs are a standing obstacle to the recovery of other industries.

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The sixty-second session of the Council of the League of Nations has already made good progress with the minor items of its agenda, under the very business-like chairmanship of Mr. Arthur Henderson. When it entered upon its most important task—the consideration of the report of the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament and the fixing of a date for the Disarmament Conference—Mr. Henderson led the way with a vigorous appeal for the honouring of treaty obligations by a genuine reduction of armaments. Herr Curtius, who followed, pleaded again for equality for Germany and a drastic revision of the report in the direction of more definite armament reductions. M. Briand, whom everyone is glad to see back at Geneva, despite the change of Government in France, was both hopeful and conciliatory. He still insisted on the need for "security," and he reminded Herr Curtius that complete equality could not be reached all at once; but he endorsed Mr. Henderson's claim that disarmament was an obligation of honour, and he repudiated the idea that France was aiming at an armed supremacy. He believed that the Conference would result in an all-round reduction of armaments, and would be followed by other Conferences which would carry on the work of disarmament. He left his hearers with the impression that the prospect of genuine results from the Conference were definitely improved.

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All Mr. Henderson's driving power and M. Briand's tact will be needed when the Council comes to deal with the German-Polish dispute about the Silesian minorities. The dispute has aroused strong passions on both sides; it may revive, only too easily, the old cleavage in the membership of the League on war lines; and its solution will be regarded as a test of the Council's ability and determination to handle effectively the general question of minorities. Among the subjects already disposed of, there may be mentioned: first, the decisions of the sub-committee on European Federation to invite the co-operation of Soviet Russia, Turkey, and Iceland in the economic side of their work, and to adopt the reaction of the world economic crisis on

Europe as the first subject of their discussions; and secondly, the assent of the Council to the acceptance of invitations issued by the Chinese Government to Sir Arthur Salter and M. Robert Haas (head of the communication and transit section of the Secretariat).

\* \* \*

M. Haas is to proceed to China to advise upon the reorganization of inland water-ways and land reclamation. Sir Arthur Salter is to advise the Chinese Government on the reorganization of its finances and monetary system. Their respective missions are the more important inasmuch as the Chinese Government has expressed its hope that they may result in practical collaboration between China and the technical organizations and experts of the League. THE NATION has consistently maintained that China, as a member of the League, could avail herself, without loss of dignity, of the League's assistance in dealing with her financial problems, and that it would be greatly to the interest of the world in general that such assistance should be afforded. In seeking Sir Arthur Salter's advice the Chinese Government have shown that they are not animated by racial hatreds; that they are seriously determined to put their financial house in order, and that they are willing to accept European co-operation. In obtaining it, they have obtained the services of a man of exceptional qualifications for a very difficult task. The problems that will confront Sir Arthur Salter are appalling; but there are at least signs that a general process of consolidation in China has definitely begun. The best news is that Chang Hsueh-liang's co-operation with Nanking has been firmly cemented, and that he has made progress with the settlement of the defeated armies of his recent rivals.

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Mr. Lloyd George is certainly one of those wicked persons who defend themselves when they are attacked; and he defends himself with such vigour that little remains to be said. Reference must, however, be made to the insolent vulgarity with which the TIMES has handled the question of Mr. Lloyd George's views on the American Debt settlement. In an effort to convict him of inconsistency in his attitude on this matter, they first quoted extensively from an article written before the terms of settlement were known, omitting the vital sentences from the article which revealed the limitations under which it was written, and suppressing the fact that as soon as he learned the terms Mr. Lloyd George wrote another article expressing the views that he holds to-day. When confronted with this infringement of the rules of honest controversy, the TIMES offered no apology or justification, but took refuge in irrelevant and insulting charges of another kind. The plain fact is that Mr. Lloyd George has held and expressed precisely the same view of the terms arranged by Mr. Baldwin in America from the moment they came to his knowledge. It is silly to accuse him of inconsistency, and singularly ill-mannered to conduct a controversy in the way adopted, on this occasion, by the TIMES. ...

\* \* \*

President Hoover's difficulties continue to accumulate. The report on Prohibition by the National Commission on Law and Enforcement seems to be an elaborate admission by the eleven Commissioners that they are as much baffled by the intricacy of the problem as the nation itself. The only point on which they are nearly unanimous is that the present system of prohibiting liquor by law and allowing it to circulate in

practice is productive of immense evils, and that effective regulation must be substituted for ineffective prohibition; but the remedies they suggest are all quite different. The President will search the pages of the report in vain for the electoral war cry he so sadly needs. Meanwhile, Mr. Albert C. Ritchie, who has been re-elected for a fourth term as Governor of Maryland, has issued an address which is widely interpreted as the election address of a prospective Democratic candidate for the Presidency. Its chief points are hostility to Prohibition, economic co-operation with Europe, reconsideration of war debts, and a lowering of the tariff wall. At the moment, President Hoover's chief object is to avoid the necessity for a special session of the new Congress. This seems likely to be secured at the price of a vote of \$25,000,000 "for the purpose of supplying food to persons otherwise unable to procure the same."

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The Prime Minister has made a further reply to Sir Hilton Young on the subject of Soviet timber. His point is briefly that, even assuming Sir Hilton Young's evidence to be correct, it would be impossible to secure a legal decision under the Foreign Prison-made Goods Act, 1897, that any given cargo of Russian timber was produced in a "foreign prison, gaol, house of correction, or penitentiary." To exclude such cargoes would, therefore, require fresh legislation, extending the definitions of the Act of 1897 and "setting up standards of general labour conditions." This, as Mr. Ramsay MacDonald says, "would be a very serious step in view of world labour conditions," and from the point of view of policy, his answer seems to be decisive. The economic objections to the trade have been largely removed by the new timber agreement concluded by importers with the Soviet Government. On the humanitarian side—without questioning for a moment the sincerity of Sir Hilton Young, or of the Anti-Slavery Society, which is setting up an investigation into conditions in the timber camps—it may be doubted whether the lot, even of conscripted Russian workers, would be alleviated by an embargo which would have its immediate reactions on Soviet imports and finance and increase incalculably the present distress in Russia.

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It is too early to estimate the strength of M. Steeg's new Government in France. For the moment the parties are more interested in passing resolutions declaratory of general principles than in practical business. This, however, is a normal feature of French politics when the Left gains a success over the Right and Centre. Two Communist Deputies serving terms of imprisonment for inciting the troops to disobedience, have been reinstated by a parliamentary vote. The Socialist Party have passed a resolution forbidding their representatives to vote on the estimates for the Army and Navy. M. Maginot, the Minister for War under the Tardieu Government has, however, appealed to the Right and Centre to support the estimates, so that the Government is now assured of a precarious majority for the next few weeks. M. Briand is at Geneva, which implies a conciliatory foreign policy. The Government has issued a statement on the recent conversations between the French and British Treasuries, recording the decisions of the Bank of France to reduce its Bank rate and to accept British standard gold. These steps should have a useful effect; but the most important feature of the statement is a guarded admission (reading between the lines of the official formula) that more comprehensive measures of co-operation have been discussed.

## INDIA'S OPPORTUNITY

THE Prime Minister's speech was a satisfactory climax to a Conference which has proved far more definite and constructive than was generally expected. His summary of the work done, combined with Lord Reading's pronouncement on responsibility at the centre and Lord Peel's final speech, should be sufficient to prove that the three political parties are determined to push through this experiment of transferring the real responsibility of governing India to Indians. We have from the first contended that any compromise would be a failure if based on the idea that India has still to be taught to ride on a leading-rein. There is nothing in the proposals which have been put forward by the Conference to prevent the Federation of All-India developing into a Government as independent as that of Canada, and it should be made clearer than it was at the Conference that the proposed safeguards are essentially of a temporary character, and are no more derogatory than the limitations imposed upon the Government of Canada in the early days of its dominion status. It is an enormous step forward for Great Britain to have accepted the idea of a Federal Government and Provincial Governments, each with Indian Ministers responsible solely to Indian Legislatures. Those Englishmen who have consistently demanded the grant of such a constitution for India can now fairly ask their Indian friends to seize this opportunity of doing some real constructive work. It would be utterly absurd if the proposed constitution were opposed in India on account of the safeguards which have been suggested. The Viceroy's control of the Army is an unfortunate necessity, due possibly to a mistaken policy in the past, but now unavoidable. It is a temporary arrangement, the end of which can be expedited by Indians themselves. The prevention of discrimination against non-Indian commercial undertakings is not only an act of justice to those who have worked up their businesses in good faith, but is necessary to prevent complications with other Powers which would certainly react on Great Britain. As regards finance, it should be made clear that the only safeguards are those needed to prevent a policy which should endanger the defence of India or its solvency. The strength of the English demand for safeguards is likely to depend on the course of events in India during the next three months, and the ability of Hindus and Moslems to reach a settlement.

It would be idle to minimize the risk which these new proposals involve, but desperate conditions demand desperate remedies. For many years our administration in India, owing to its lack of any real popular support, has been growing less and less efficient. We pride ourselves on having brought India peace, but for some months the casualty lists due to political fights have been at least on a Boer War scale. Our old love of political freedom is shamed by the fact that there are probably more political prisoners under lock and key in India than in the remaining five-sixths of this unhappy and uneasy post-war world. We like to think of ourselves as the protectors of the Indian "ryot," but he remains at the end of a world slump with a standard of living which is still the lowest of any people

past the nomadic stage. The idea that this deterioration can be checked by a further display of force, or by doubling the number of our political prisoners, could only come from men who are out of touch with the modern world. The objections to the bayonet theory of government and the Jallianwallah Bagh method of restoring order are two-fold. First, there is not a scrap of evidence to show that they have the beneficent effect so confidently predicted by Lord Rothermere, and, secondly, the present generation of Englishmen is less prone to this form of activity than was the last. The war did produce a certain modicum of international decency, and modern England is not likely to embark on a policy of repression upon the advice of a few disgruntled old officials and soldiers who feel, quite rightly, that the present situation reflects on the administration and outlook of their generation in India.

Unfortunately, our mere consent to the Conference proposals will not be enough. It is not sufficient to say to India, "here is a constitution which goes much further than we thought practical a few years ago, take it and be thankful." Twelve years ago that might have been possible, but to-day it is difficult to think of any large group of Indians who will support the Conference proposals, and will be able to take the first steps necessary to bring the new Constitution into being. The Princes and their leading officials feel that they have gone far enough in promising to enter a Federation. They have little influence in British India, and their advocacy would arouse more suspicion than support. At the other end of the scale the depressed classes, though inclined to be friendly, are not sufficiently organized to be a valuable political force. The more moderate type of politician who has come to the Conference is undoubtedly pleased with the results obtained, but Hindus, Sikhs, and Moslems all tend to adopt the attitude that the proposed Constitution is satisfactory enough, but that they do not wish to identify themselves with it too definitely until the communal question has been settled to their satisfaction. The professional classes, the land-owners, and the industrialists contain many politicians who, openly or secretly, would like to see the end of the present disorders, and believe that the Conference proposals are sound and sufficient, but few of them are likely to be strong protagonists. On the other side, unless the unlikely happens, and leaders like Mr. Gandhi and the Nehrus are prepared to co-operate, we must expect a continuation of extremist activities, designed to wreck the whole settlement. They will be made easier by the existence, over the greater part of India, of acute agrarian distress, which the ryot shares with agriculturists throughout the world.

It is necessary to face these rather unpleasant facts in order to understand that British statesmanship will not have completed its work when the proposals agreed upon at the Conference have been reduced to legal form. In Great Britain the duties of the Government are fairly simple, and it is only necessary to remember that time is an important factor, and that any delay or any attempt to "water down" the proposals which have been accepted will have the very worst possible reactions in India. It is in the latter country that the

real struggle will take place, and in order that the proposals shall have a fair chance it is essential that the orientation of the Government of India should be changed. Its first object should be to prepare the country for its new form of government. The powers given under the present Government of India Act might be used to transfer the all-important subjects of law and order and of land revenue to Indian Ministers responsible to the Provincial Legislatures, and thus anticipate one of the alterations which is bound to take place under the new scheme. In the Central Government there is a great deal of preliminary work to be done—a proposal like the separation of Burmah involving great financial changes. It would be well if one or two of those Indians who have been prominent at the Conference could be introduced into the Government, and this is the only way in which the Government could make use of men, like the Dewans of Mysore and Baroda, who did so much to sponsor the new scheme of Federation. If opportunity arises one or two Indian Governors might well be appointed. It is a thousand pities that the precedent established by the appointment of Lord Sinha has never been revived. British India is singularly lacking in men with the practical administrative experience which is frequently to be found amongst officials in the States. Neither Lord Irwin nor his successor, Lord Willingdon, are afraid of using Indians in high places, and a few changes in *personnel*, both in the Provinces and at Delhi, would do much to give people in India the impression that they are really at the beginning of a new epoch.

There are two factors which are helping to prevent a settlement in India. One is xenophobia, and the other is the feeling that somehow or other the Government of India will, in the words of the late Lord Lytton, "take every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear." It is too late to discuss how far this latter feeling is justified. That is merely an academic question. The important point is that this distrust exists and is almost universal amongst educated Indians, even those who are quite friendly to us. It is based on the idea that we consider India to be of immense value to ourselves. We can only meet this distrust by setting up the new constitution as speedily and methodically as possible, and by using and trusting implicitly those Indians to whom we intend to transfer our responsibilities.

## BELGIUM AND THE FLEMISH PROBLEM

**E**VER since that startling event, the election at Antwerp by a huge majority of the Flemish Activist, Dr. Borms, who was then—December, 1928—still in prison, Belgian politics have worn a different aspect. In May, 1929, the success of the Flemish Nationalists at the general election—the number of their seats was increased from six to eleven—confirmed the impression left in governing circles by the Borms affair (which an anti-Flemish paper had interpreted as "83,000 soufflets à la Belgique") that something had to be done in order to pacify Flemish feeling. The approach of the centenary celebrations added anxiety to these reflections, and in the autumn of 1929 M. Jaspar, on meeting the new Chamber at the head of a reconstructed Catholic-Liberal Coalition Cabinet, announced his intention of "solving the Flemish

question" as an indispensable condition for the peaceful development of Belgium. As an earnest of this ambitious programme he succeeded in the summer of last year in carrying a measure for the substitution of Dutch for French in the University of Ghent, the Nolf compromise of 1928 having signally failed in satisfying anybody.

So far that is all. Next on the programme are measures regulating the use of Flemish in the law courts and in elementary and secondary education. Will it be possible for the Government to get them on to the Statute Book in a form that will satisfy Flemish aspirations? When one remembers what alarms attended the passage of the Ghent University Bill, when one knows the rumours about differences of opinion between Liberal and Catholic Ministers, when one notices the heat of feeling engendered by the incidents which have followed thick one upon the other in connection with the now completely Flemish University of Ghent, it is impossible to watch the progress of M. Jaspar's plucky attempt without a somewhat uneasy feeling.

One thing must strike every observer who has known Belgium over a number of years, and that is the new spirit of self-confidence which recent developments have created in Flanders. The Flemings have taken good note of the appeals addressed by M. Jaspar to recalcitrant Liberals in the name of the security of Belgium. They feel that the time has come when they and their grievances are taken seriously. The passionate complaints of papers like the *FLANDRE LIBÉRALE* of Ghent or the *NATION BELGE* of Brussels that the Government, by truckling to the extremists, is endangering the unity of the country come with a bad grace from the very people who by their constant belittling and taunting have done so much to rouse Flemish opinion. Yet it cannot be denied that this sudden zeal in high quarters for the pacification of Flanders is encouraging a temper amongst the Flemings in which they are not more likely to abate their claims. As a Flemish politician said to me the other day—one of those who still hope to achieve the full Flamant programme under the present unitary Belgian constitution:—

"At Brussels they are thinking in terms of concessions now which would have prevented all these excitements, had they been carried out ten, or even five, years ago. Perhaps in two or three years' time they will have moved on to the policy which could bring about an appeasement now. But in two or three years' time it is very doubtful whether that would still be sufficient."

In fact, the question that is discussed amongst Flemings to-day is not so much whether the Flemish Movement will achieve its purpose, as whether with its inevitable progress Belgium will be able to preserve its unitary constitution, or even its existence. Flanders accounts for considerably more than half of the population of Belgium, but wealth and social prestige are still largely French in Flemish towns like Ghent and Courtrai, even Antwerp, and especially Brussels. These "Fransquillon" groups, although now everywhere (except at Brussels) driven into a defensive position as "minorities," are still powerful economically, and in combination with the Walloons politically. Recent events in the Chamber tend to show, no doubt, that the Government can triumph over the attacks of Brussels Fransquillon Liberals, when it chooses to stand firm, but this endless struggle is wearing out everybody's patience. Quite apart from the Parliamentary aspect, moreover, there is the difficulty of the bureaucracy and the magistrature who, after a century-old tradition of "belgieizing" and gallicizing tendencies, are regarded with ingrained suspicion by Flemish opinion, and from whom, indeed, nobody will expect a whole-hearted co-operation in the great work of reform and regeneration upon which the Flemish people have now entered.

The Flemish Nationalists, of course, despair of any good for Flanders coming from the Belgian regime. They have their extremists who recognize no programme but the break-up of Belgium and the union of Flanders to Holland. It is hardly necessary to explain that (whatever the future may hold in store) this is not practical politics, and the Flemish Nationalist members of the Chamber and the Senate will shortly introduce a formal proposal for a revision of the Belgian Constitution in the sense of a federation between Flanders and Wallonia. It is a remarkable development that amongst the Walloons voices are beginning to be heard in favour of this same solution. Only a few days ago a Walloon association, claiming to represent various centres of opinion in Wallonia, published a resolution in favour of a dual system. Belgian unitarism is losing its attraction for the Walloons when a knowledge of Flemish is to be required of all officials in the central bureaux, while it becomes a downright menace when not only the "minorities" of Fransquillon upper-class people in Flanders, but also those of Flemish working-men in Wallonia (of whom there are many thousands) are to be protected against absorption.

It seems obvious that matters have reached a stage where important developments may occur. Any check to M. Jaspar's policy of Flemish reforms is bound to lead to a further increase of Flemish Nationalism, especially at the expense of the Flemish Catholics, whose rank and file are getting ever more impatient at the scanty results yielded by their party's participation in the Government. Meanwhile, the idea of some kind of self-government for Flanders is beginning to attract the attention of politicians in the older parties, which hitherto, by the restraint they enjoined on Flamming members, have supplied the strongest cohesive of Belgian unity. This change is most noticeable in the Socialist Party. Originally, the first parts of Belgium to become industrialized being situated in Wallonia, the Belgian Labour Party was entirely dominated by the Walloons. Now, however, the Flemings are hammering at the doors of the inner sanctuary, especially the young Flemish intellectuals, imbued with the ideal of disarmament, which has taken so strong a hold on the mind of their Dutch Socialist friends, and which is, for that matter, very popular also with the Flemish Nationalists themselves, to whom Belgian foreign policy and Belgian militarism are alike suspect. It is most significant that M. Vandervelde, the veteran leader of the Socialist Party, who has not lost his sensitiveness to new tendencies of political thought, in two articles published in *LE PEUPLE* the other day advocated the denunciation of the Franco-Belgian military agreement and the introduction of some measure of decentralization as the only effective solution of the Flemish problem.

It is unnecessary to explain to English readers the virtues of self-government as a cure for the troubles of nationality. In Belgium, at least in ruling circles, where the political outlook is entirely French, little distinction has been made so far between directly anti-Belgian propaganda and the demand for a liquidation of the unitary regime. It is a fortunate thing that responsible politicians are beginning to examine on its merits an idea which may impose itself if at any moment the Belgian political machine gets deadlocked by the nationalities conflict. If a reform of that nature has to come, shocks will certainly be more easily avoided if it is not shirked by the older parties until the Flemish Nationalists, with the help of the Walloon Nationalists, are strong enough to tackle it.

P. GEYL.

## POSTURE

THE expression "an upright man" has come to mean one whose character is straight, yet the inference is from his appearance and manner of holding himself. Similarly the "sinister" appearance of a hunchback finds its expression in the English language as a "crook" or dishonest man. The psychological reactions which have led to these connotations are profound and devious. Even in these days of specialized methods of mental and physical tests our judgments of one another are largely based on personal appearance. Physical reactions are subconsciously acknowledged in the examples both from the language and from practical experience. While the recognition of the moral value of a wholesome outward appearance has been accepted from time immemorial and embodied in colloquial speech, this conception, although fully appreciated by the Greeks, has only been consciously realized in the present century.

Swedish drill is the forerunner of the modern culture of physical fitness and basically is the most original of all the various body training systems as now practised. Eurythmics, sunbathing, and sports which are considered the most up to date of these, are merely revivals of the old Greek methods of attaining physical beauty. The exercises of Swedish drill which are based on anatomical considerations represent an entirely new procedure. Their function is to provide greater mobility of joints, not by putting unnatural strains on them, but by strengthening and increasing the efficiency of all the muscles and ligaments concerned with their movements. They differ basically from other types of muscular development in that they produce no hypertrophy of any one group of muscles in order that specialized powers such as weight-lifting should be developed. Swedish exercises are therefore designed to produce a body which is balanced in its muscular development and thus potentially capable of dealing with all the natural stresses and strains imposed on it. It produces neither the slim ballet dancer with massive calves and thighs nor the professional weight-lifter with mighty torso and arms but with weedy legs.

In the scientific world the desire to make the body into an efficient and harmonious whole, finds its most important expression in orthopædics: the word "orthopædic" is self-explanatory and means "straight child." At one time this important branch of medicine belonged solely to the realm of surgery, and consisted almost entirely of forcible correction of long-existing deformities. To-day, it is largely preventive and uses chiefly "bloodless" methods, including, in the ever-increasing class of mild cases, corrective exercises or the wearing of corrective apparatus. There will always be a residue of unpreventable major malformations which are to-day treated to an ever greater extent by manipulation, or in the most severe cases by operation. A generation ago only surgical interference, now regarded as the last resort, was considered as of any practical value. Nowadays the prevalence or otherwise of physical deformities in a community marks its degree of æsthetic and medical knowledge, since all but the rarest congenital defects are either preventable or else amenable to successful treatment.

While civilization has brought about a decided improvement in gross physical deformities, it has probably increased or rather accentuated minor shortcomings. Modern shoes, particularly in the case of women, the wearing of clothing which *ipso facto* means camouflage, sedentary occupations, and lack of facilities for walking under natural conditions have combined to produce slatternliness of posture. The

average town dweller undoubtedly slouches or wilts according to sex, while our fashion plates proclaim the desirability of these two evils. Anatole France wittily analyzed the dissimulating value of clothes in his great satire "L'Île des Pengouins." The bow-legged female penguin who found herself shunned by the male penguins hit on the idea of wrapping a cloth round her lower half and immediately became so seductive that all the other females were obliged to follow suit; so originated the custom of wearing clothes.

The æsthetic value of a harmonious body held with correct balance is still only realized subconsciously by the layman. This is regrettable, but less important than the lack of popular understanding of the value of an upright carriage. There are a whole series of major and minor disabilities to which the large majority of town dwellers are subject. Laxity of muscles and lack of aeration of the lungs, induced by a sagging posture, are the underlying causes of early fatigue, rupture, constipation, bronchitis, and flat feet, amongst other ills. The beneficial effect of simple breathing exercises on the weakly, floppy type of child is almost startling. Breathing correctly entails standing correctly, a fact not generally realized; indeed, the two conditions may almost be said to be synonymous. The pot-belly and protruding shoulder blades of the average child and adult town dweller constitute a real blot on modern civilization, since they are an index of the physical and mental vitality of the individual; to give a concrete example, in an anthropometric survey of rheumatic children now in progress, it is being found that as a class their posture is below average even in the milder cases. It is not suggested that their stance is the only cause of their disease, but it would certainly appear to be either contributory or else the result of it; in actual fact a vicious circle has probably been set up.

The average school child is not encouraged to hold itself properly. The desks provided in class are entirely incorrect anatomically, being fixed and inflexible and built for a hypothetical child of normal size. Their construction practically compels the body to sag, in order to obtain an illusory comfort; the shoulders droop, the abdomen protrudes, and the chest is cramped. Having been forced to sit badly, the child gets up cramped and retains its "question-mark" posture, which it takes along to its drill classes. Here the teacher, who in nine cases out of ten has not the remotest idea of how to breathe or hold himself correctly, proceeds to instruct the pupil. The shoulders, sometimes with arms included, are heaved up in a satisfying way, denoting great effort being taken, and appropriate noises made to indicate air being drawn into the nose and precipitated out through the mouth. The upper ribs are requested to show signs of movement to match the activity of the shoulders, but the lower ribs are not called upon to take part in these physical jerks. To anyone who analyzes the movement of breathing, it is obvious that only the lower ribs are of any account; they act as the compressors of the lungs which means conversely that when the pressure is removed these become adequately filled, for the laws regulating the presence of a vacuum remain constant here; in this way full aeration becomes possible. Everyone knows the feeling of exhilaration and well-being that follows the inspiration of a few lung-fulls of air. To return to the drill lesson: The next stage usually consist of even more violent physical jerks; a favourite exercise is the "forward lunge," the efficiency of which is outwardly demonstrated by bringing the front foot down with a bang and turning it out as far as possible at right angles to the rest of the body; the chin, of necessity, is well poked forward, and the back is hollowed. If an exercise had been specially designed to produce the maximum of faults of position, it would surely

have resolved itself into this one. The feet are placed so that the maximum strain is put on their inner edges, the arches thus being at any rate temporarily flattened, while the back is unnaturally curved and the chest and chin poked forward so that correct breathing is all but impossible; the strain on the back is unilateral, localized, and not in accordance with the natural balance of the body. So-called deep knee bending is equally absurd and exemplifies similar wrong points. Most of the exercises are anatomically incorrect in that they put unequal strains on the body, usually on those parts not designed to receive them. If the pupils were all healthy and physically well balanced, this would not matter so much, but since most of the movements seem to pick out and accentuate malpositions such as flat feet and curved spines, it would be of the greatest benefit if they were replaced by games, which require only natural movements, until such time as the teachers were themselves taught.

In hospital practice it is quite common to see a child who is attending an open-air school for some such serious condition as a weak heart or lungs, apparently healthier and more upstanding than its "normal" brothers and sisters attending ordinary schools; this in spite of the fact that it is not allowed to take part in the healthful drill in which the others indulge. With so many bad influences in civilized life conducive to bad posture, it is sad to reflect what a poor start the average school child is given. One partial remedy, which has only been recently appreciated and utilized, is that of scrapping the rigid seats of desks and substituting ordinary chairs. Insistence on scientific instruction for would-be drill teachers, whose job should be whole time, even in elementary schools, is also essential and should be universal.

AUGUSTA BONNARD.

## SEARCHING THE SCRIPTURES

Lord Brentford, replying to Mr. Lansbury in the NEWS-CHRONICLE, quotes the Scriptural maxim that if a man will not work, neither shall he eat, and states, "I have searched my Bible in vain to find any support for the limitation of work to seven and a half hours per day."

How nice to know that Brentford has inferred  
The Dole's damnation from the Sacred Word,  
Where with such splendid bluntness it is said  
That he who will not work shall want for bread  
(Though Holy Writ ignores—I've searched it too—  
The wicked wretch who can't find work to do;  
And leaves his merits curiously hid  
Who need not work, because his father did.)  
How nice to know that Scripture seems to lay  
No rigid limits on our working day,  
That men who spend twelve hours in shop or mine  
(As men have done) infringe no law divine—  
And little children did so, free from sin,  
Ere meddlers like Lord Shaftesbury butted in.  
How wise, how comforting (at least to me)  
The Scriptures seem, expounded by Lord B.  
I love the drastic comments that they pass  
On "self-indulgence," in the working-class;  
All I deplore is that they leave a way  
Too broad, too open, where our feet may stray.  
In vain for hours I turn the sacred page,  
Seeking fixed limits to the daily wage,  
A fixed (and lengthy) minimum for hours,  
Or bans on strikes, and on trade-union powers;  
Finding instead (a menace to the State!)  
The grossest libels on the rich and great;  
And, as a doctrine for our social school,  
Vague generalities like the Golden Rule.

MACFLECKNOE.

## THE ECONOMICS OF THE TALKIES

WE must change our views about British films. Some of our producing companies do not seem to be so short of ideas and money after all. One of them even included a Bernard Shaw "talkie" in its studio production programme last autumn without straining its finances or even making a fuss. The Commissioners of Customs and Excise have lately been moved to explain a surprising increase in the entertainments tax by the popularity of "talking" films. It seems incredible, but it is true—it is the British "talkies" which are popular. The appeal of the American is on the wane. What is the reason? And what does commercial success in this new industry mean to Great Britain?

For twenty-two years after its invention the American silent film was supreme. We must give Edison, the inventor of the "movie," his due. He made possible a sub-species of drama called "photo-pantomime"—drama which could be played in shadows across a screened proscenium by means of a projecting machine and a few reels of printed celluloid. Drama by magic for the masses, simply turned on and off with a switch, and viewed in comfort for the price of a gallery seat. In 1905 the first theatre to be devoted entirely to photo-pantomime was opened in Pittsburgh. By 1927 the making, distributing, and showing of moving pictures had become the fourth largest industry in the United States. A capital of \$2,600,000,000 was invested in it. About \$1,800,000,000 represented the investment in cinema theatres, whose gross receipts exceeded \$800,000,000 a year. The combined earnings of the entire British iron and steel industry are dwarfed by the astronomical profits of American "movies."

Why the film industry developed so rapidly in the United States and so slowly and painfully in Great Britain is largely a question of personalities. The credit for the successful commercial exploitation of photo-pantomime in America must be given to a few enterprising Jews of European origin who had a genius for showmanship—Jesse Lasky, Adolf Zukor, the Warner brothers, Marcus Loew, Samuel Goldwyn, William Fox, Joseph Shench, and Carl Laemmle—the last wealthy enough to have his fantastic biography written by John Drinkwater. These "big business" pioneers were men of extraordinary character. William Fox, for example, came of poverty-stricken Jewish immigrants from Hungary and began life, like all good American millionaires, by selling newspapers, while his father made shoe polish over the kitchen stove. It was on being told that he was only worth 15 dollars a week by his employer when he worked in a cleaning-and-pressing shop that young William Fox decided to raise money for the purchase of a little cinema hall in Brooklyn. Thus were the foundations laid of the great Fox Film and Fox Theatre Corporations. Of course, these business geniuses were helped in their commercial careers by artistic genius of no mean order. Charlie Chaplin, Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks, Norma Talmadge, the Barrymores, and later Pola Negri, Emil Jannings, Greta Garbo, raised the art of photo-pantomime to a high pitch of efficiency. Indeed, the technique and art of the silent films were reaching perfection by 1927. But all this time the film industry in Great Britain had lagged behind. The City houses had fought shy of financing film production. Except for a courageous Scot from Glasgow in the person of Mr. John Maxwell, who in 1927 had taken over the then derelict studios at Elstree, there was no one comparable with the enterprising American Jews. What capital had been found had gone into cinema

theatres, not studios. American "movies" dominated the British screens and American ideas were being instilled in the minds of the theatre-going public. American-owned cinema theatres had become the show places in London. Such was the propaganda power of photo-pantomime that the last Conservative Government took a serious view of this peaceful American invasion. Any other Government would have done the same. So, in 1927, the Films Act was passed to encourage British film production and strike a blow at American "movie" domination. The Act imposed upon renters (distributors) and exhibitors a certain quota of British films beginning with  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in the year ending April, 1929, and rising by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. each year to 20 per cent. of their annual turnover.

The Films Act was passed at a most unfortunate time. It happened to be a year of revolution for the film industry. Some of the commercial geniuses in America had taken fright and done a desperate thing. The Warner brothers, watching the revenues from their pictures fall, had decided that the popularity of the silent "movie" was on the wane, and that extinction stared the industry in the face. Something sensational had to be done to get the public back to the cinema theatres. At this point the Warner brothers saw the possibilities of a novelty called the "talking" film. It was being tried out at that time by the engineers of the Western Electric Company, a subsidiary of the American Telephone and Telegraph. The Vitaphone Corporation was formed by the Warner brothers and the Western Electric, and \$5,000,000 was spent in adapting the novelty to studio production. William Fox was not far behind. With William Randolph Hearst he invested in a process of talking film called Movietone, developed by the General Electric Company and the Radio Corporation. Both systems recorded sound on the disc or on the film. The first "talking" picture, on which the Warner brothers spent \$500,000, was shown in New York in October, 1927. It was the "Jazz Singer," starring a well-known Broadway artist, Al Jolson. It was not really a talking picture; it was a series of silent pictures interrupted by songs. But one curious incident made the "100 per cent. talkie" inevitable. Before singing one of his songs Al Jolson was heard to say: "Come on, Ma, listen to this!" The recording machine had started too soon, but so natural was Al Jolson's voice that the words were retained. The public were delighted. The Warner brothers thereupon gambled the whole of their resources on the making of talking films. Fox followed, and together they stamped the American industry into a lightning change-over from silent films to "talkies."

The "talkie" revolution was of a tremendous order. It meant rebuilding studios with costly electrical machinery and re-equipping theatres with expensive "talkie" apparatus. For the American producers it entailed an investment of at least \$50,000,000 in new plant; for the American exhibitors an outlay of about \$150,000,000 to make their twenty thousand theatres talk. It was a colossal upheaval, but it brought colossal rewards for the revolutionaries. The American theatre equipped for talking films did 30 per cent. better business in 1929 than in 1928. The profits of the film magnates soared. In 1929, Zukor and Lasky made in round figures \$15,500,000 for Paramount Public, the Warner brothers over \$17,250,000 for Warner Brothers Pictures, the Loew family over \$11,750,000 for Loew's Incorporated, and William Fox over \$11,800,000 for the Fox Film Corporation. Here was a total net profit of nearly \$56,800,000 for the "big four" from a single year's exploitation of the "talkies." Small wonder that William Fox and the Warner brothers lost their business

heads, over-expanded and landed their companies in a financial mess by 1930.

While the "talkies" were making millions for the American industry they were ruining the British. The Films Act, by endowing British films with an artificial value, had played into the hands of unscrupulous company promoters in the City. By waving the Films Act flag a dozen or so companies were promoted and nearly £2,500,000 worth of new film securities were floated on the public. The market value of these securities to-day is under £500,000. These new film-producing companies were got together hastily, their directors were for the most part totally inexperienced, and what little knowledge their managements could claim of film production was acquired in the days when films were silent. They were doomed to failure. Only two or three have survived. But the Films Act at least did a good turn for Mr. John Maxwell, the lone man of enterprise from Glasgow. His company, the British International Pictures, was helped to weather the "talkie" storm, and to-day his Elstree studios are the centre of British talking film production.

Yet I fancy that even without the aid of the Films Act, British "talkies" would have emerged victorious. In the first place the British people wanted English. The plain, honest audiences of the Midlands, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the North, could not stomach the American "slanguage," the nasal love-making of the American blonde and the smart wise-cracks of the "big boys" or the "red hot mammas." Jargon which is apt in New York becomes meaningless in Wigan. For a Chicago "wop" to say: "I'm going out and grab a can. I gotta chop that mick before he squeals," may mean something in the Middle West of America but leaves a Lancashire audience not only gaping, but angry at being asked to listen to such gibberish. Even London began to loathe the "back stage dramas" with commonplace, sordid stories of crime, bootlegging, or sex, which Hollywood sent over week after week, month after month, to serve as the background for monotonous displays of chorus girls' legs. Even the romantic young women from the suburbs grew tired of such back-chat as: "Baby, you didn't oughta travel with that bunch." "Is zat so?" "Yeah, that's so—and I don't mean maybe. Listen, baby; you kinda kid yourself you're smart. Well, some day I guess you're gonna be kicking yourself all around the block." "Aw, can it, big boy." "O Kay, baby!" Thank heaven the nationalism of the provinces has been strong enough to resist the poison of American jargon.

In the second place the geography of our country has come to the rescue of Mr. Maxwell and the British film industry. When the Warner brothers and William Fox stampeded their colleagues into the "talkie revolution" they did not stop to consider the effect upon their foreign markets. Clearly, American talking films could not be exported to non-English speaking peoples. Mr. John Maxwell discovered that Elstree was a convenient centre for the "multi-lingual talkie." He began to produce English talking films, and then to arrange with a German or French company to bring their own cast to Elstree to speak the lines in German or French, using the same studio sets and recording apparatus. Not even the wildest American producer could ship whole castes of German or French artistes from Europe to Hollywood for the purpose of making tri-lingual films. Will American producers be forced, for the sake of preserving their foreign markets, to transfer part of their studio activities to Elstree or London? One begins to realize the commercial importance of the new talking film industry for Great Britain. And it has a wider significance

than the mere creating of employment at home. It used to be said in Hollywood that each foot of American film exported and shown abroad brought back a dollar's worth of foreign purchases of American goods.

Even if Hollywood refuses to come to Elstree, I think that British "talkies" will progress. An American Consul has just observed that the English are adapting themselves more readily to "sound" than they did to "silent" film production. The reason is obvious. The talking film producers have their raw material at hand on the British stage. At the moment they are merely transposing the spoken drama from the medium of the stage into the new medium of the film. They have not had time to develop a new art or technique of sound and talking "movies." A leading producer of "talkie" films said to me that if there were no stage, he would have to create one, because it was his source of raw material supply. For those who love films as a new art, this remark may be depressing, but art will follow when the British producers, having made their millions, discover that they can afford to let artists waste their money.

E. H. DAVENPORT.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### THE TRADE DISPUTES BILL

SIR,—Mr. A. P. Laurie's further letter is a worthy successor to the first. Its assertions are equally definite and as uniformly wrong. I shall not waste your space by dealing with all his false statements. Suffice it to say that:—

1. To charge a person with an offence under Section 1 of the 1927 Act it is not necessary to have the consent of the Attorney-General. For all further proceedings against him in respect thereof (with certain stated exceptions) such consent is required;

2. The "consent of the Attorney-General" does not mean "his statement that in his opinion the strike is illegal" or anything of the kind;

3. No "ruling" of the Attorney-General would be before the Magistrate, and the fact that proceedings are permitted to take place affords no reason whatever why they should be decided in a particular way.

The provisions of the 1927 Act may or may not be considered the wisest possible; but to write nonsense about the existing law does not help to secure its wise amendment. It is to be hoped that Mr. Laurie may soon find a topic more suited to his powers.—Yours, &c.,

HENRY G. STRAUSS.

Temple.

January 13th, 1931.

SIR,—Your article in your issue of January 3rd dealing with the Trade Disputes Bill, particularly with regard to the clauses affecting the Political Levy, does not seem to convince that the Liberal attitude to the new legislation would be met by restoring the "contracting-out" clause for the "contracting-in" provision which was substituted for it in the last Conservative Act, and I think some discussion of the question in your correspondence columns might help to clarify the matter.

You indicate in your article that the natural inertia of members of any body will militate against the success of a fund where members are obliged to "contract-in," even when their sympathies are entirely with the object which it is intended to finance. You go on to allege that no other "similar associated body" is placed in the same "invidious position" in this respect.

It may be lack of knowledge on my part that prompts the question, but I should like to know which other "asso-

ciated body " exists which, protected in its rights by Act of Parliament, contributes to the funds of a political party in a manner analogous to the Trade-Union Political Levy?

One cannot help feeling that there is something corrupt in binding an industrial instrument like the Trade Unions to one political party in the State, that is to say, corrupt in its effect upon the political party rather than upon the Trade Unions, assuming that a majority of their members are agreeable to the manner in which the levy is expended.

The money obtained from the levy is, I take it, largely used for the purpose of financing Labour Parliamentary candidatures and propaganda whether the candidates concerned are selected by the Trade Unions or the local Labour Party branches, or by the Central Labour Executive, therefore you have the spectacle of a political party depending to a great extent upon funds obtained from an industrial organization and, in consequence, submissive to the behests of a section of an organization which was never intended to be a political machine at all, and which contains in its ranks a large mass of opinion, which, whether it contribute to the political fund or not, is opposed to many of the political purposes which the fund ultimately serves.

I suppose it will be agreed that an Employers' Federation is the *vis-à-vis* of a Trade Union. Which Employers' Federation raises a political fund by levy, voluntary or otherwise, on its members and contributes from such a fund directly to the funds of the Conservative or Liberal Parties? And would not the whole of Liberal opinion be mobilized to attack such a thing and to describe it as corrupting the political morals of the party financed from it by bribing that party to support the particular views of the Federation concerned, even if these views were antagonistic to the interests of the general community?

I can understand that in the early stages of Trade-Union development there were many occasions where political action by Trade Unions may have been necessary, now through the medium of one political party, now through the medium of another political party, and were the funds used in that manner no objection could be taken by any Trade Unionist to a compulsory levy in the interests of Trade Unionism, but when the fund is in fact used solely for the support of a single political party to which many Trade Unionists do not belong, the situation is entirely different.

The Labour Party has become the second largest party in the State; it has branches in every town and almost in every village. There is no obstacle preventing any supporter of that party from subscribing directly as an individual to the funds of the Labour Party, as other individuals do to the party of their choice. Complete equality of opportunity in this respect now exists.

I suggest that the Political Levy be re-examined, and that it be restored, in a modified form, to be used, not for the purpose of promoting Labour candidatures or Socialist propaganda, but purely to advance the Parliamentary requirements of Trade Unions, and that the corrupting influence of the levy upon political parties be ruled out for the future.—Yours, &c.,

C. M. WEIR.

Glasgow.

January 5th, 1931.

### THE POLITICAL LEVY

SIR,—Forgive my persistence! Your leading article last week maintains that the Union official has the same powers (of obtaining the money of the conscious non-Socialist) under the present system as under that proposed to-day, and in force some years ago. You say, "All weapons have been equally available to the Union officials under the present system."

May I meet this by a comparison? I am an employer, and at the last election I fought my own native town. My own employes voted, worked, and paid against me.

Does the Editor of THE NATION seriously suggest that my influence as an employer was just as effective, seeing that I could go and inquire of each of my employes if they would

pay for my politics, as it would have been if all my employes had had to pay unless they had individually signed a paper and presented it to me, explaining that their politics were different from mine and that they therefore would not pay a shilling? I am very sure scores would have voted against me and yet paid rather than save a shilling. However they might trust me, would they not say, "Why make known this antagonism to someone who some day will necessarily have to choose between me and someone else in vital matters of industry?" To consider putting me in such a position of advantage would be grotesque.

What would you say, sir, if I complained that you, by refusing me such a position, were guilty of "a shabby device" for reducing my financial resources?

Say, rather, that we, who are Liberals, must defeat the Socialists' shabby device for reducing the financial resources of the patient and loyal folk who support us amid a thousand discouragements!—Yours, &c.,

RONALD F. WALKER.

Californie Palace, Cannes.

### LIBERAL POLICY

SIR,—Your attitude to the Trade Disputes Bill is surely the only correct one.

In a Northern city, this week, I put it to the audience that we must not give the Labour Party the shred of a grievance.

It is enough to point out that concern just now for their strategic position ill accords with their claim to special concern for the workers when they give time to such a measure during a period of unprecedented crisis in commercial history. The audience accepted these ideas.

Further, it may be admitted that Protection has fallen in estimation in banking circles. Yet the figures at by-elections, including Bristol, and the absence of Free-Trade demonstrations appear to suggest that Free Trade is not yet a popular rallying cry.

At the meeting mentioned above, friendly questioners put their points as if convinced that we had no adequate reply as Free Traders. They were agreeably surprised when they heard a convincing refutation of the Tariff Press teachings.

There cannot be too much effort anywhere to enlighten the electors regarding the ruinous effects certain to follow the imposition of taxes on imported goods, with the view to develop the home market for those we produce ourselves.

And no meeting is too small or unimportant for any man or woman to attend. We have too many who are ready to speak, in a large hall, to an appreciative audience of converts to received Liberal opinion, but it is an affront to their dignity to be asked to speak to a "mere handful" of working people in an uncomfortable schoolroom worthy only of their deep disdain.—Yours, &c.,

JOSEPH W. WRIGHT,

Chairman, Middlesbrough East Liberal Association.

40, Breckon Hill Road, Middlesbrough.

January 17th, 1931.

SIR,—When government is such an acutely unpopular business and the choice of any party or policy is at best a choice between evils, there is a great temptation for those who are not immediately compelled to take a political decision to "lie low and say nuffin."

But, it seems to me that the recent action of the Liberal Party, in prolonging for an indefinite time the life of the present highly incompetent and discredited Government, marks a definite orientation of policy which cannot be ignored. Exactly what the Liberals have undertaken, exactly what has been promised to them and, more important, exactly what sanction they hold to compel the Labour Party to perform their part in this pactless pact no one seems to know.

Appearances to an outsider would hardly point to any satisfactory reality behind these mysteries, at all events from a Liberal point of view.

But, even if the outcome of this bargain should be imme-

diately favourable to the Liberal Party, the matter is not concluded.

From the point of view of the country, this new *entente* means a continuance of a policy of drift and political and financial dissipation in face of almost desperate circumstances at home and abroad, coupled with a deliberate revival of the grave injustice and disruptive passions which everyone thought had been finally buried in the débris of that treasonable conspiracy, the General Strike.

I can see no possible gain to this country, either at home or in its relations with the Dominions or with Foreign Powers from the continuance in office of the Labour Government, in any way commensurate with these evils, even allowing for the very worst that a substituted Conservative Government would be likely to do.

It seems to me, that if the Liberal Party is prepared to support *this* Government at *this* time, it is hard to imagine the political circumstances in which it would detach itself from the Labour Party.

I have no desire to use political catch-words or to exaggerate in any respect, but it seems fair to say that if the present Liberal policy is continued the Party will become little more than a right wing of the Labour Party without the advantages which such a wing would have of guiding policy in council or influencing it through the constituencies.

This is a position which I, at all events, am not prepared to accept, and if this policy is to be continued, I do not see how anyone who thinks as I do can remain a member of the Liberal Party.—Yours, &c.,

JOHN NEAL.

The Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

### VIVISECTION

SIR,—Mr. Shove's letter betrays that curious lack of a sense of proportion about experiments on animals which the apparently irrelevant remarks in my letter were intended to help to restore. If he is a man of common sense, as I used to think him, he knows that the answer to Mr. Whiting's statement is that on the whole it is false. I will take the parts of it one by one.

Experiments involving starvation are completely prohibited in this country by law. No certificate has ever been granted by the Home Office permitting it. I can think of two people (in twenty years) who wished to make such experiments. One went to Germany, and the other to France to do the work. The vast majority of "vivisectors" are people who are thankful that the law stands where it does in this, and that it is impossible for one or two queer fish to disregard the feelings of the animals they use.

I have never heard of any experiments in my life which have involved freezing animals. I am certain that the Home Office would prohibit them.

"Vivisectors" do, however, give animals diseases, and we must assume from our human experience that suffering is caused thereby. To this extent Mr. Whiting's statement is not false. Various points should, however, be remembered which I can only indicate. Suffering must be distinguished from pain; animals inoculated with a disease do not manifest pain. Suffering in a human being is largely composed of mental anxiety, and in animals, certainly in small animals, the mental anxiety must be much less. The great bulk of this work is performed on small animals. Their suffering is no greater than when they die by Nature's hand, and their earlier death is less important than the health of children.

"Vivisectors" in the lump are exactly like any other group of university people, and they have a right to expect that all other university people should join to defend them from absurd and offensive charges made by others who cannot free their minds from prejudice. Those who attack the "vivisector," and yet make no effort to see that an anæsthetic is used for castration and similar operations which are a regular part of stock breeding, are straining at the gnat and swallowing the camel in the most pharisaical manner.—Yours, &c.,

J. H. B.

January 17th, 1931.

### CIVIL SERVANTS' SALARIES

SIR,—I trust that THE NATION is not going to join the reactionary Press in attacking the salaries of Civil Servants and teachers. In your current issue Miss Vera Brittain suggests that "the Budget would be assisted and Equal Pay achieved simultaneously, if the salaries of men Civil Servants and teachers were reduced to the level of those paid to women for the same or equivalent work."

Miss Brittain's proposal would mean that a male Executive Officer in the Civil Service at present receiving £537 per annum would drop to £414, while a Clerical Officer on his maximum would drop from £353 to £266. These would be crushing reductions for men with family responsibilities in the middle grades of the Civil Service.

As regards the lower grades of the Civil Service, the adoption of Miss Brittain's plan would be fraught with great hardship. Out of slightly more than 300,000 Civil Servants 150,000 receive less than £3 per week, inclusive of cost-of-living bonus. That half of the Civil Service in receipt of over £3 per week have had only a partial measure of compensation for the increase in the cost of living since 1914. Not 4 per cent. of Civil Servants get as much as £400 per annum.

The Staff Side of the Civil Service National Whitley Council, representing the bulk of the men and women of the Civil Service, is in favour of equal pay, and has included this claim in its recent evidence to the Royal Commission on the Civil Service. But the Staff Side's conception of equal pay is, of course, the raising of the women's rates to the men's, and not the lowering of the men's scales. It is not my purpose to discuss whether reduction of wages is likely to prove a solvent of the nation's present difficulties. But Miss Brittain and other advocates of salary cuts in the Civil Service should not overlook the fact that the upper and middle grades of Civil Servants have received less compensation to meet the increased cost of maintaining their pre-war standards of living than has been secured by classes of comparable status outside, and that in the lower grades there is acute poverty.

I am a keen supporter of equal pay for men and women in the Civil Service, but I am surprised that THE NATION, which doubtless contains many Civil Servants among its readers, should lend its columns to attacks on the wage standards of this much maligned and certainly not over-paid profession.—Yours, &c.,

A. J. BROWN, Assistant Secretary.

The Association of Officers of Taxes,

7, St. George's Square, S.W.1.

January 12th, 1931.

### BLIND ALLEYS

SIR,—In your issue of January 3rd, Miss Vera Brittain proposes to "warn parents against the choice of blind-alley or non-permanent occupations for their daughters." She also objects that the "threat to personality involved by the unbroken monotony of such ill-paid work—the operating of calculating machines by girls of fifteen for 12s. 2d. a week—can hardly be exaggerated."

I will not enter into the questions of whether Miss Brittain is personally acquainted with such unfortunate persons, or if she places any value on the influence of the home, but I would like to know what useful object can be served by deliberately advising parents not to allow their daughters not to enter occupations which are becoming increasingly prevalent and essential.

Surely it must be admitted that although routine work may in the distant future be adequately remunerated, this type of occupation—which includes much factory work, both male and female—does now, and always will, form the sole means of employment for a large section of the population. Whom does Miss Brittain wish to operate calculating machines and the like? Perhaps it is that she only desires the children of the privileged subscribers to THE NATION to escape these dishonourable and altogether disgusting callings.—Yours, &c.,

EMPLOYER.

January 3rd, 1931.

## NON-PROVIDED SCHOOLS

SIR,—Whatever the rights of the involved controversy about non-provided schools, it comes as a great shock to find that there are Liberals who believe that to support Nonconformity is more important than to preserve Liberty, say, against a political levy.

The united stand of the Liberal Members against the deposited Prayer Book in the last Parliament placed many Liberal Anglicans in an unhappy position. Any indication that the Liberals are a Sect Party, which is worse than a Class Party, is to be avoided. Therefore may one implore our M.P.s to deal with this subject as quietly as possible. If it happens that as individuals they all support the Free Church point of view, let them not do it with a militant blast of Puritan trumpets. But it is most unfortunate that they should happen to vote in one lobby on the sole occasion one would wish to see them in two.—Yours, &c.,

GEORGE EDINGER,

Prospective Liberal Candidate, North Herefordshire.  
The Bath Club, 34, Dover Street, W.1.

## JOHN BRIGHT

SIR,—I do not think Mr. Leonard Woolf should be allowed to get away with the pretence that he was not belittling John Bright when he described him as ante-diluvian. Could anything be more disparaging than to say that "John Bright in frock-coat and side-whiskers talking about the wings of the Angel of Death was a ridiculous spectacle"?

Such a biased description of one of the most wonderful speeches ever made is hardly worthy even of a "hack reviewer."—Yours, &c.,

PAUL BERNARD ROTH.

P.S.—By the way, my grandfather did not wear a frock-coat in 1855: so that Mr. Woolf's attempt at ridicule is inaccurate as well as being in questionable taste.

Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.  
January 14th, 1931.

## THE CALIBRE OF CANDIDATES

SIR,—I perused with interest the article entitled "The Calibre of Candidates" in this week's issue of THE NATION, and concur with some of the observations therein expressed. There have been times when I have been placed in a difficulty as the candidates of my own faith have been far less experienced, also of inferior personality, than those whose views I differ from. Should one refrain from recording one's vote, or, as I have done weighing the circumstances of the moment, voted for the best man whose work I knew and whose tried labours suited the constituency rather than a wealthy raw recruit from Mayfair? Some people believe in compulsory voting, which I feel would not lead to the representation of the best; unless there is a "Mr. Bogey" who you could vote for; ensuring thus that all electors exercise their obligations.

Now, sir, the reform of the method of selection of candidates for Parliamentary, County Council, and municipal honours is our greatest need. Too much is left to the inner ring—the party supporters, the rank and file have no voice save to agree, and are often in the dark as to whether other names were considered. The science of government requires not mediocrities or social climbers, or elderly men who desire to start in no less skilled calling requiring apprenticeship, at an age when they are not disposed to do more than what is necessary to keep their seats. There are examples in all parties of men, young and old, whose principal claim to support, as your correspondent points out, is financial, or one may add, social prestige—plus being in the public eye in the columns of social gossip. It all comes down to the fact that we should pay and play a greater part in politics locally so we can more adequately have men and women, irrespective of their means, put up for public posts on merit and on grounds of previous service.—Yours, &c.,

"GALLOVIDIAN."

Dartmouth Park Hill, N.W.5.  
January 17th, 1931.

## LORD BRENTFORD FOR NEW ZEALAND?

SIR,—It would be a fine act and one most appreciated in New Zealand if the Government of the day could see its way to appoint our "Jix" to be Governor-General when next that post falls vacant.

New Zealand is surely Dora's spiritual home. They limit with an amiable ferocity the rights of the trade unionist to combine; of the shopkeeper to trade; and they have just swooped down upon the poor consumer and stopped him from collecting gift scheme coupons.

New Zealand, indeed, is so forbidding a land that if it were asked, as we are about to be asked, to open its cinemas on Sunday, it would probably retort by shutting all its public houses for all time.

What is the explanation? Perhaps the earlier Scotch emigrants had the spirit of John Knox for fellow-passenger! —Yours, &c.,

CHARLES R. SPENCER, Hon. Secretary.

The Gate Theatre Studio,  
16a, Villiers Street, Strand, W.C.2.

## "THE SPIRIT WOODED"

CHARM is not a quality which we associate with poetic genius. And although Chaucer and Shakespeare should put us right on this point, the common reader is but vaguely acquainted with the first, and Shakespeare serves as an exception to every rule. Milton, Wordsworth, Shelley, and Browning lie heavy in the other scale, and even Miss Sitwell's injured eloquence has not convinced us of the charm of Pope. Coleridge devotes a chapter to disputing Horace's sarcasm—*genus irritabile vatum*; was he not himself sufficient refutation? And who can turn over Keats's letters with unenchanted eye? To-day, however, charm is unfashionable. A modern poet would be insulted at such an attribution. And yet, and yet—I venture to call Mr. Edmund Blunden a charming poet. Nor do I think he will be offended, first, because he is not fanatically modern, secondly, because of his devotion to Chaucer, to Keats, and to John Clare.

Mr. Blunden has gathered together the poems of sixteen years.\* The spirit of the book (a firm, comely octavo, and not expensive) is not the spirit of to-day. It is the spirit of the early Romantics, of the lull before the great Romantic storm; intimate, domestic, observant, melancholy, humorous, charming; the spirit of William Collins and William Cowper.

The letters of Cowper (like the letters of Keats) have made him one of the nearest and dearest of the poets. Lord David Cecil's life of him has ordered our impressions and intensified our affection. His spiritual agonies did not find expression in great poetry. Similarly Mr. Blunden's experiences of massacre and slime, of fear and sacrifice as a soldier, although recorded in this volume, inspired a work of art in the medium not of poetry but of prose. The quality of the prose, however, is essentially the quality of the war poems, the same quality released and free. Despite the author's plea to the contrary, we still think of him first and foremost as a nature poet, just as we think of the "divine chit-chat" of Cowper and not of the Olney hymns.

Mr. Blunden's group of poems "War: Impacts and Delayed Actions," makes a valuable corollary to "Under-tones of War." His admirable contribution to the Hogarth Lecture series, namely, "Nature in Literature," ensures an understanding and appreciation of his best, that is, his nature poetry. Mr. Blunden's lectures discuss and illustrate five different poetic attitudes to nature: "The Spirit Wooded"; "The Unknown God" (Vaughan, Words-

\* "Poems, 1914-29." By Edmund Blunden. (Cobden-Sanderson. 10s. 6d.)

worth); "The Pastoral Dream" (Shakespeare, Milton, Arnold); "The Farmer's Boy" (Duck, Bloomfield); "The Selbornian." The lecturer shows a wonderful sympathy with them all, but his own poems unquestionably place him with the poets of the first chapter, "The Spirit Wooded." He confesses there that Collins's "Ode to Evening," that "mysterious orison," has amazed and sustained him for more than twenty years. Curiously enough the ode was published at "a time of wars and menaces and sacrifice, which Collins saw at first hand and interpreted in his hymns and elegies." Mr. Blunden has watched evening's

"dewy fingers draw  
The gradual dusky veil,"

over Ypres and Gouzeaucourt and Bethune.

Dr. Johnson complained that the lines of Collins are "commonly of slow motion, clogged and impeded with clusters of consonants," and I doubt whether he would have approved of some of Mr. Blunden's effects:—

"With worrying weakness wrens flit through the hedge  
And black rooks blot the south's thin jaundice sky;

"Hoarse brawling through some deep-wormed channels run  
Small streams dull as dead serpents in the sun."

Mr. Blunden's motion is not seldom "clogged and impeded"; we miss the lyrical cry. Mr. Blunden does not sing. As regards his vocabulary, he is like a man in his library who takes down now one volume, now another, caressing an old favourite, blowing the dust off one forgotten, fingering a new purchase, but apparently uncertain as to which shelf will catch his eye next. His diction is curious rather than inevitable. However, "The Silver Bird of Herndyke Mill" is a ballad which in word and metre and feeling goes far towards correcting these general impressions. William Cowper, of whom in a certain Miltonic stiffness as well as in other ways already noted, Mr. Blunden reminds me, is quite unfettered in his famous:—

"The poplars are felled, farewell to the shade  
And the whispering sound of the cool colonnade,  
The winds play no longer, and sing in the leaves,  
Nor Ouse on his bosom their image receives.

"Twelve years have elaps'd since I first took a view  
Of my favourite field and the bank where they grew,  
And now in the grass behold they are laid,  
And the tree is my seat that once lent me a shade.

"My fugitive years are all hasting away,  
And I must ere long lie as lowly as they,  
With a turf on my breast and a stone at my head,  
Ere another such grove shall arise in its stead."

This poem of five stanzas was published in the GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE for January, 1785. Pass over a hundred fugitive years. There is a stone at Cowper's head. The poplar groves rise and are laid low. And (such are the ways of poetry), in 1879 a sequel is written:—

"My aspens dear, whose airy cages quelled,  
Quelled or quenched in leaves the leaping sun,  
All felled, felled, are all felled;  
Of a fresh and following folded rank  
Not spared, not one  
That dandled a sandalled  
Shadow that swam or sank  
On meadow and river and wind-wandering weed-winding  
bank.

"O if we but knew what we do  
When we delve or hew—  
Hack and rack the growing green!"

I may not quote it all, but perhaps some reader will be intrigued enough to look up the two poems and work out the comparison; for it throws light upon the processes and ends of poetry. Gerard Hopkins has a high hand with words, a high Shakespearian hand. He is a supreme poetic genius. But the simple anapaestic movement, the familiar

Psalmist morality of Cowper hold their own against the technical virtuosity and personal appeal of Hopkins.

I am aware that these observations of mine have a desultory air, but how else shall one record impressions of poetry? And I have named these last two poems with a purpose. Mr. Edmund Blunden's poetry moves between these two poles. Technically he aspires after verbal and metrical effects, of which Hopkins is a master, and which Mr. Blunden only rarely achieves. Spiritually he is with Cowper (and Clare, a closer observer than Cowper). We miss in him what Hopkins called:—

"The roll, the rise, the carol, the creation,"

which transforms virtuosity into inspired performance. He woos Nature; he cannot enslave her. He woos and wins her, and like his own shepherd he knows her well:—

"Even crows and jackdaws scrambling for the beans  
Among the troughs are of his rustic clan,  
Confess him king of bird and sheep and man;  
And where he breaks his bread the emmet gleans.  
The sun gives him old wisdom, the wind sings  
Clear to his sense, his heart many hard things."

GEORGE RYLANDS.

## PERSIAN TEXTILES

THE first period of Persian history of which we possess any textiles is that of the Sasanian Kings (A.D. 220 to 639). The Sasanians were anxious to revive the glories of the past, and we find traces of Achæmenid styles of decoration in the motives used. The rock-cut grottoes at Taq-i-Bostan contain reliefs on which a number of patterns of textile decoration can be observed. From these, from fresco work discovered in Turkestan, from the silks found at Antinoë in Egypt, and from the silver plate we are able to build up a fairly correct idea of the style prevalent in Persia at this period, though most of the actual pieces we possess have been found in reliquaries in churches in the West.

The main feature of the designs is rows of motives arranged stiffly on horizontal planes. The most characteristic of these motives is the roundel, a circle with decorated rim, containing a heraldically conceived pattern of confronted animals, or a hunting scene. The roundel itself is a Hellenistic decoration, and was probably not used in Persia before the importation of Syrian weavers in the third century A.D. But its elaborate adaptation and its most splendid achievements are the result of Sasanian ideas. Later still, it was adopted in Byzantium as the result of that characteristic taste for Oriental ideas so prevalent among the Romans. At the Persian Exhibition a splendid group of these textiles is to be seen, including the celebrated shroud of Saint Cunibert.

Under the early Mohammedan rulers, a new type of decoration set in; the field of design expands and becomes more pictorial, and a characteristic example of a tenth-century silk from Saint Josse-sur-Mer, lent by the Louvre to the Exhibition, shows pairs of elephants arranged in a rectangular compartment, set off by a border of Kufic. But under the Seljuks, whose important domination of Persia from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries had such a wide effect on all the applied arts, a revival of Sasanian ideas through the medium of Byzantine imitation, led to a new style of ornamentation. Alp Arslan wished to subdue Byzantium, and after the battle of Dindaghan he married his son to the daughter of Romanus Diogenes. As a result, a considerable impetus of Byzantine ideas passed into Persia.

The roundel once again becomes the characteristic feature of the design, but it is on a different footing. The

form becomes elliptical and delicate, and a sophisticated type of pattern fills its field instead of the bold heraldry of the Sasanians. A superb group of Seljuk textiles, discovered in recent years at the ancient capital of Rayy, has been united for the first time at the Exhibition.

The Mongol invasion of 1250 swept away so much with it that Persian civilization had to start again. When it does, we find a new type of textile decoration, a type of elaborate arabesques and small floral or animal motives, all strongly influenced by Chinese ideas; but with the return to power once more of a great dynasty—the Safavids—Persia in the sixteenth century burst once more into the full flower of its ancient heritage. The magnificent silks and velvets with human figures on them represent a quality of design and a perfection of technique which have never been surpassed. In this sphere the Persian Exhibition is particularly strong. The great tissue on a black ground, from Rosenborg, has never left Denmark before, while the equally fine panels from Kiel, from the Muséo Correr at Venice, from Moscow, and from the shrines of Ardabil and Kum, are certainly the finest series which have ever been brought together. In the seventeenth century, the Persian designers also turned their attention to the motives of the flower garden. Rows of naturalistic plants, of which the most common are the iris, the rose, the hyacinth, and the lotus, are placed on a ground of delicate tint in a manner which recalls the sensibility of William Morris and his school; but the Persian designers were far more brilliant at the actual blending of the colours, and the arrangements of rose, lilac, or turquoise are tempered by a subtle use of gold and silver. The centres of weaving in Persia were, and still are, Isfahan, Yazd, Kashan, and Rasht, but it is difficult to distinguish the work of any town.

In a different sphere, the Persians were equally successful—that of embroidery. Marco Polo tells us how, as he travelled through Kerman, he was impressed by the work of the needle-women. It is to the Safavid times that we have to look for the achievements of the embroiderers. As might be expected, they are somewhat closely connected with the types of carpet design. One group, and perhaps the most beautiful, is associated with the so-called "Dragon" carpets of the Eastern Caucasus. The cotton ground is entirely covered with close embroidery in darning or cross stitch, and the rich reds and blues are splendidly contrasted with a black ground. Further south, at Isfahan, a similarly worked type of embroidery bears close resemblance to the so-called animal carpets of Central Persia. Further south still, were made the white bath mats and covers of linen embroidery with floral designs in green and red which penetrated to India and thence to England. It is on these embroideries that the whole group of English bed furniture of early Georgian times is founded.

One more type of embroidery is sufficiently striking to merit attention. The so-called *naqsha*, or women's trouserings, are unsurpassed for the rich effect of their floral stripes and for the extreme beauty of the workmanship. In Victorian times, it was not considered proper to mention such an article as a pair of trousers, and so these embroideries have come to be known as "gilets Persans," or Persian waistcoats. It is in the extraordinary grasp of the effect of design and in the execution of such designs that Persia has always been in the forefront of the world, and it has never been possible to examine in such detail the work of one of the principal fields of activity as at Burlington House. It will surely never be possible again.

LEIGH ASHTON.

## A WOMAN'S NOTEBOOK

By VERA BRITTAIN.

DR. ADLER IN LONDON—THE CASE OF MRS. WISE—WOMEN ON THE WAR—DR. ETHEL BENTHAM—SOME LECTURES ON PSYCHOLOGY

IT is almost twenty years since Dr. Alfred Adler, who was in London last week, published his fundamental work on the origins of Individual Psychology, "*Studie über die Minderwertigkeit von Organen*." Though few persons are qualified to read that abstruse study of constitutional pathology, its suggested experimental technique of understanding human behaviour has been explained and simplified in Dr. Adler's weekly lectures at the People's Institute of Vienna, as well as in the free child-guidance clinics attached to Viennese schools where many of his students have worked without pay under extremely difficult physical conditions. I went on the Thursday to hear Dr. Adler's address at University College on "The Meaning of Life." The benevolence of infinite kindly wisdom seems to shine with an almost visible radiance from the Socratic ugliness of this great little man. Co-operation, he told us, is the secret of human life; its failures are those who, being without social interests, perish because they neither create nor contribute. Such failures are dominated by fear, which is the hallucination of a danger, but from the qualities of self-confidence, optimism, and courage, co-operation springs. "The Sermon on the Mount in the language of Individual Psychology," the friend who was with me remarked as we left the hall.

Especially for women, Dr. Adler's philosophy holds vital interest and stimulating hope, for he has always made it clear that the desire for power and the abilities which render it attainable are as natural to women as to men. Like Dr. Floyd Allport, the distinguished American author of "Social Psychology," Dr. Adler attributes what he

himself calls "the alleged inferiority of women" to the adverse operation of prejudice, tradition, and repressive education. I do not know whether those zealous Tertulians who persuade publishers to print their hectic effusions on the physical, mental, and moral shortcomings of females (that they still function is proved by two curious little volumes passed on to me with manifest relief by Mr. Blunden this very afternoon) are susceptible to influence by the accumulated wisdom of the wise, but if they are, they might turn with advantage to the following passages from "Understanding Human Nature," one of Dr. Adler's best known works:—

"Man has been wont to justify his domination not only by maintaining that his position is natural, but also that his dominance results from the inferiority of women. . . . If we investigate the situation of the girls more closely we learn that the story of the lesser capability of women is a palpable fable.

"A girl is daily subjected to the argument that girls are less capable than boys and are suitable only for unessential activities. It is not surprising then that a girl is firmly convinced of the unchangeable and bitter fate of a woman and sooner or later, because of her lack of training in childhood, actually believes in her own incapability. . . .

"It is a frequently overlooked fact that a girl comes into the world with a prejudice sounding in her ears which is designed only to rob her of her belief in her own value, to shatter her self-confidence and destroy her hope of ever doing anything worth while. If this prejudice is constantly being strengthened, if a girl sees again and again how women are given servile rôles

to play, it is not hard to understand how she loses courage, fails to face her obligations, and sinks back from the solution of her life's problems. Then, indeed, she is useless and incapable! Yet if we approach a human being, undermine his self-respect as far as his relationship to society is concerned, cause him to abandon all hope of ever accomplishing anything, ruin his courage and then find that he actually never amounts to anything, then we dare not maintain that we were right, for we must admit that it is *we* who have caused all his sorrow!"

\* \* \*

The case of Mrs. Wise, who, though expecting another child, was tried at the Old Bailey last week for the murder of her infant son, excited a good deal of attention in the Press and elsewhere. It is dangerously easy to become sentimental over the passing of the death-sentence on a pregnant woman, and in the outburst of indignation which followed this grim judicial farce, several important factors in the tragedy have been overlooked. Not one of the papers that I read, for instance, commented on the fact that, although the prospective infant of the prisoner—who already has four other children and no means of subsistence—is due in a few weeks, the baby whom she murdered at Christmas was only nine months old. Nor did any outraged journalist point out that such intolerable circumstances as drove Mrs. Wise to desperation are by no means peculiar. The authentic collection of letters in Dr. Marie Stopes's "Mother England"—which received much less attention than the sufferings of Indian women as described in "Mother India"—show that the number of such cases could be multiplied *ad infinitum*. For one Mrs. Wise who falls by the wayside, a hundred exhausted and overburdened mothers are carrying on with a patient endurance that is none the less heroic because it should never be demanded of any human being. Not how many women murder their unwanted children, but how few, is the fact that amazes. The real criminal to be arraigned at the bar of social justice is not Mrs. Wise, but the cruel, obstructive prejudice which endeavours to prevent such women from learning how to control the reproduction of their unhappy kind.

\* \* \*

The Women's War Stories now running in the EVENING NEWS are too brief and anecdotal to do more than revive haphazard memories of those strangely initialled and uniformed young women, the W.A.A.C.s, the W.R.N.S.s, the W.R.A.F.s, and the V.A.D.s. But the series is interesting because it testifies, in spite of the alleged weariness of readers and critics, to the abiding fascination of war topics for the large evening-paper public. It is also a reminder that no outstanding war book of approximate quality to "Undertones of War" and "Memoirs of an Infantry Officer" has so far been written by a woman. The fact is curious, for the war was a phase of life in which women's experience did differ vastly from men's, and I make no puerile claim to equality of suffering and service when I maintain that any picture of the war years is incomplete which omits those aspects that mainly concerned women. Up to the present most women's war books have either been slight, semi-connected vignettes, or highly coloured sensational shockers designed to make as much money as possible out of the temporary boom. The one that brings war-time France most vividly back to my memory is Mary Lee's gigantic novel "It's a Great War," but this is a detailed journalistic record, and not the imaginative reconstruction of which war literature by women stands in need. The woman is still silent who, by presenting the war in its true perspective in her own life, will illuminate its meaning afresh for her generation.

\* \* \*

Dr. Ethel Bentham, who died on Monday, was not among the most conspicuous women Members of Parliament. Though her appearance was fragile and her speech and manner those of a tired woman, it must have come as a surprise to many to learn that she was over seventy. Advanced feminists did not consider her a feminist in spite of her suffrage activities, and in Labour circles she was not regarded as a strong candidate even though at the last General Election she converted a Conservative majority of 3,894 into a Labour majority of 1,558. But the indefatig-

able courage which induced her, late in life, with failing health and after the exacting demands of a long medical career, to endure the disappointment of three unsuccessful elections before triumphing in a fourth, was a quality which compelled admiration from her colleagues in all parties. As a member—except for two short intervals—of the Labour Party Executive since 1919, and as Senior Medical Officer of the Margaret Macdonald Baby Clinic in Kensington, she will be greatly missed both by the National Executive and the Prime Minister himself. Her death will, of course, involve a by-election in East Islington. I hope that the rumour that Islington favours women candidates is well founded, for there are one or two first-rate Labour women who failed to secure election in 1929. At present the women in the House are made too conspicuous by their scarcity; they need more companions of their own sex before the happy day can arrive when they will be no longer "Women M.P.s," but merely Members of Parliament.

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Until I went to hear Dr. Adler, I had not come across the International Society for Individual Psychology. This organization has arranged a course of ten lectures with fascinating titles, to take place at 55, Gower Street, on Friday evenings. M. Philippe Mairat begins the series (January 23rd) with a talk on "Psychic Dynamics and Balanced Behaviour." Next on the list come Dr. Maurice Robb on "The Family," and Mr. D. Mitrinovic on "Dreams, Daydreams, and Accidents." These addresses are open to the public at a price of 2s. per lecture, or 15s. for the course. On Thursday, January 29th, at 8 p.m., Dr. Harold Waller will address members of the Hampstead Babies' Club and their friends at 16, Wellgarth Road, on "The Difficult Child," and at 5.15 the same afternoon Bedford College for Women begins its series of three lectures on "Problems of Modern India."

## PLAYS AND PICTURES

"The Velvet Mask," Arts Theatre Club.

OF the innumerable theories of the Man in the Iron Mask's identity, M. Maurice Rostand has chosen the one which makes him twin brother to Louis XIV. With its tenability we need not concern ourselves here, but, other things being equal, it was not a happy choice, for it means that the King and his brother must be played by the same actor, so that they can only meet off-stage. The French, whether at the Sarah-Bernhardt or the Folies Bergère, have a taste for these dramatic delvings which an English audience seldom shares, so that our standards for such fare are considerably higher than theirs; which makes one wonder why the Arts Theatre management thought it worth while to produce this play. Mr. John Wyse, though he fainted twice on the night I saw the play, contrived to give the most efficient performance, differentiating nicely between Louis and the Mask, and doing all he could for the blank verse; and Miss Beatrice Wilson's Anne of Austria was as good as one has learnt to expect from this gracious actress. The Mazarin, played like an Italian Shylock, was every ounce as tedious as his lines, and nearly all the smaller parts were poorly acted.

"Betrayal," Little Theatre.

Andreyev either could not or would not exercise enough control over his intellectualism with melodramatic leanings to allow "Betrayal" to become an important work of art. This was a pity, because his theme of a man feigning madness and then becoming mad was one with enormous possibilities in the way he treated it at the beginning. But the task, or the temptations to shelve it, or both, were evidently too great. Melodrama would have had to be a flavour only; not a pursuit. As it stands, one can only watch the play with the nerves as untaut and the teeth as unclenched as possible, and the finer emotions, if any, directed solely to the task of keeping a check on the coarser ones: the technique, in fact, of a good number of the audience at "Dracula" or "Frankenstein." The play provides a wide range of possibilities for the actor,

and Mr. David Horne runs the gamut of them with extraordinary power. Mr. Roy Malcolm and Miss Flora Robson both made good use of their opportunities for expression, and, indeed, the whole cast were at one. But the general effect was a disappointment.

**"Round the World in 50 Minutes," Shaftesbury Avenue Pavilion.**

One could not help being apprehensive on seeing the notice outside the Shaftesbury Avenue Pavilion last summer: "Closed for the installation of talking picture apparatus," or words to that effect; for until then one could always be sure of seeing something good there for the price of a cheap seat. But now that this cinema is open again things are not nearly so bad as they might have been. The programme is changed every Monday, but each week for the price of sixpence or a shilling, with a creditable speeding-up of Jules Verne's journey to suit the age, you can go round the world in fifty minutes, and see a Micky-the-Mouse Cartoon as a makeweight. Nor are there too many parades of troops, weddings, or funerals of great men in various countries to leave room for more unusual and less spectacular happenings, and this is where fifty minutes of the Shaftesbury Avenue programme gets the better of most ten-minutes' news items on the screen. At the same performance you can see and hear the crowd outside St. Paul's welcoming in the New Year, the funeral of Marshal Joffre, Austrian policemen doing physical jerks, Signor Mussolini greeting the English-speaking peoples with a New-Year's message, ski-ing and skating in Switzerland, wrestling and dancing in the East and West, Mr. Chesterton talking to American students on his lecture tour, and several other gay and tragic events in contemporary life. It would not be politic to suggest that a weekly attendance at this programme would do away with the necessity for reading a newspaper, but it is well worth while spending an occasional fifty minutes and sixpence (or a shilling) to see it for its own sake.

**"Cinderella," Grafton Theatre.**

It was a happy notion to produce an Edwardian version of "Cinderella" on the intimate stage of the Grafton Theatre, and the idea has been put into practice with considerable ingenuity and good taste. If a small theatre suffers as a rule from the shyness of the audience, there is an advantage here in the comparative ease with which subtleties get across. Without too much burlesquing, there is a rich store of material in a thirty-years-old pantomime, and the changed attitude of a modern audience to the quality of sentiment alone is enough to justify such a production. There is excellent value at the Grafton, for besides a pantomime complete with harlequinade, there are some thirty contemporary songs of half-forgotten familiarity in which one can join without offence to anyone on either side of the footlights.

**"Little Lord Fauntleroy," Gate Theatre.**

No less successful is the "Little Lord Fauntleroy" of fifty years ago at the Gate Theatre. Here Miss Elsa Lanchester is on her mettle as the Little Lord, and the audience enjoys the joke as well as relishing the story for its own sweet sake. Here are more songs, less rollicking but more deliciously sad, some of them interpolated, and others performed at the end with appropriate actions and scenery.

**"Kismet," at the Leicester Square.**

Mr. Knoblock's Arabian Night's entertainment lends itself to all the wealth and magnificence of setting which Hollywood can command. In this talking version (there was an earlier "silent" film based on the play) no resource has been neglected to clothe the scene, and it must be said that no diffidence has been shown in denying clothing to the performers. The simple, if bloodthirsty story is adhered to faithfully, and Mr. Otis Skinner, modestly introduced as the greatest living ornament to histrionic art, bore a creditable likeness both in make-up and method to Mr. Oscar Asche. But the main attraction of this film lies in its pageantry which never falters in its profusion, and is quite sufficient to relieve the tedium of rather lame and stilted dialogue, spoken through Arabian

masks with a Los Angeles accent. For this pageantry alone the picture is worth seeing.

**Oils, Pastels, and Water-colours by Edward Wolfe, London Artists' Association.**

There is nothing tentative or insinuating about Mr. Edward Wolfe's pictures. In a large exhibition of his work like the present one there is an almost overpowering sense of colour, and this would be disastrous but for the good taste with which Mr. Wolfe uses it in each individual work as a means to an end. This end is not primarily the expression of form for its own sake, but rather a rhythmical design of a personal and by no means unpleasing quality. The only doubt that arises in an onlooker's mind is as to whether there is enough formal clarity to keep some of these swirling designs rooted down. But that Mr. Wolfe's economy of statement in his paintings is not the result of a lack of research or of an incapacity for subtle expression is proved by some of his smaller works, and by his portrait of Mr. R. B. Cunninghame-Graham, which by its comparatively restrained forcefulness looks almost out of place in the present exhibition.

\* \* \*

Things to see and hear in the coming week:—

Saturday, January 24th.—

Backhaus Recital, Wigmore Hall, 8.

Sunday, January 25th.—

Mr. J. A. Hobson, on "British Common Sense," Conway Hall, 11.

London Symphony Orchestra, Albert Hall, 3.

The Camargo Society's production of Ballet, at the Apollo, 8.30.

Monday, January 26th.—

London Symphony Orchestra, Queen's Hall, 8.15.

Tuesday, January 27th.—

"Precious Bane," at the Embassy.

Professor F. G. Donnan, on "Chemistry and Radiation," Morley College, 8.

Schnabel Recital, Queen's Hall, 8.30.

Wednesday, January 28th.—

"Il Trovatore," at Sadler's Wells.

Mr. Philip Guedalla, on "The Limits of Biography," Junior Liberal Club, 8.15.

B.B.C. Symphony Concert, Queen's Hall, 8.

Sir E. Hilton Young, on "Parliament and Public Money," the Wireless, 7.25.

The Dean of Windsor, on the Restoration of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, Royal Society.

Thursday, January 29th.—

Royal Philharmonic Society's Concert, Queen's Hall, 8.15.

"Bed Rock," by Mr. Eden Phillpotts and Mr. B. M. Hastings, at the Apollo.

Mr. Dennis Robertson, on "Financial Doctors," the Wireless, 7.25.

Friday, January 30th.—

British Women's Symphony Orchestra Concert, Queen's Hall, 8.

Mr. Roger Fry, on "Persian Art, the Wireless, 8.30 (L.R.).

OMICRON.

## TRAVELLERS

RUINED, we travel, for each day  
About the country of the wind  
We go, with hearts nobly at bay  
Before large wonders passing Ind.

Whether we walk or stand, we see  
Huge ranges welter past our ears,  
Or meadows, when the Western sea  
Forgets awhile its loves and fears.

This continent of harmonies,  
Atlantic fugues, set with lagoons  
Of azure breves, lies on the knees  
Of wayward gods who grant strange boons.

JOHN MANN.

## THE WORLD OF BOOKS

COLERIDGE, HAZLITT, SCOTT

THE imperfect publication which has been so far given to the writings of S. T. Coleridge other than his poems is now being superseded, and it is a triumph for academic America that the difficult work is almost entirely in the hands of her young men. The philosophical, the critical, and the biographical legacies of Coleridge are all being explored with a fresh regard. It is striking that Professor T. M. Raysor, who is marshalling the critical miscellanies, has been able to found his entirely new edition of "Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism" (Constable, two vols., 42s.) on manuscripts no further away than the British Museum. It is also to be gratefully noticed that he, like the other editors who intend to display in full what survives of Coleridge, has been given excellent aid by the representatives of the poet's family. There will be many astonishing things to make known, but nothing which will have any other effect on the memory of Coleridge than to make it seem an actual, human, and enchanting presence. Above all, the stupid contention that Coleridge "did nothing" will be practically erased.

In the four volumes of "Literary Remains" (1836-1839) H. N. Coleridge (himself an engaging writer) edited his uncle's papers on Shakespeare in a manner which no doubt suited the occasion and the period; he selected, adapted, and attempted method and continuity. The mere groundwork of reading what Coleridge had scribbled, especially in Greek and in his Greek cipher, was bewildering. The text which H. N. C. pieced together has remained throughout all the later editions. Sometimes Professor Raysor has been obliged to use portions of it. How far it is trustworthy may be seen from the following passage, which I take at random, in the two versions:—

H. N. C.: "With his accustomed judgment, Shakespeare has begun by placing before us a lively picture of all the impulses of the play; and, as nature ever presents two sides, one for Heraclitus, and one for Democritus, he has, by way of prelude, shown the laughable absurdity of the evil by the contagion of it reaching the servants, who have so little to do with it, but who are under the necessity of letting the superfluity of sensorial power fly off through the escape-valve of wit-combats, and of quarrelling with weapons of sharper edge, all in humble imitation of their masters."

T. M. R.: "With his accustomed judgment Shakespeare has begun by placing before us a lively picture of all the impulses of the play, like a prelude; and [as] human folly ever presents two sides, one for Heraclitus and one for Democritus, he has first given the laughable absurdity of the evil in the contagion of the servants. The domestic tale begins with domestic[s], that have so little to do that they are under the necessity," &c.

In Coleridgean problems it must be borne in mind that the man was apt to write down the same notion in several places with slight varieties of wording; but here we see H. N. C. quite mangling what should have been a simple and every-day observation.

Professor Raysor has not contented himself with a reconsideration of the materials once negotiated by H. N. Coleridge. His first volume contains that part of his work. The *marginalia* are given the first place. Then follow notes for lectures, and other fragments. The second volume collects the reports of Coleridge's lectures, some of which have not been printed before, and others not transcribed from newspapers. Here, J. P. Collier's memoranda are reprinted and their authenticity is maintained. Nine pages are occupied by a "magnificent unpublished letter" by Coleridge on plagiarism, in which the supposed borrowings of Scott from "Christabel" in manuscript, and of Coleridge from Schlegel's lectures on Shakespeare, are discussed. It is indeed a splendid performance, apart from the honour which Coleridge does himself by his absolute faith in Scott.

"He who can catch the spirit of an original, has it already." Nor is it less to Coleridge's credit that, writing this draft letter to "a man who offered to review W. Scott's poems to his injury," he has concealed that man's name in a cipher beyond even his present editor's interpretation.

Not the least remarkable aspect of Coleridge's whole work on Shakespeare (and Professor Raysor admires and indicates it) is the fact that he, so essential a poet, should treat prose as prose, a distinct type of utterance; and, agreeably to that, that he "never substitutes for criticism the lyrical impressionism which seeks to create a new work of art, only nominally inspired by its subject and essentially independent." Here the contrast is drawn between him and Hazlitt and Lamb. At the same time, Coleridge's criticisms are often illustrated with strange and active images. A subdued principle in a play is "equal to the twisted wires on the plate of rosin in the preparation for electrical pictures"; Polonius "hunts the trail of policy at a dead scent, supplied by the weak fever-smell in his own nostrils"; Hamlet's punning is "a sort of playing with a thread or watch-chain or snuff-box"; the dull critic, "blind and deaf, fills his three-ounce phial at the waters of Niagara—and determines positively the greatness of the cataract to be neither more nor less than his three-ounce phial has been able to receive."

The total worth of Coleridge's Shakespearean criticism is beyond any man's estimate; historically, Professor Raysor provides us with a good view of its original force; permanently, it is a "grand sea." Its deficiencies are obvious; it is mainly limited to eight of the plays; it was based upon an as yet immature condition of Shakespeare scholarship all round, and on the author's indifferent historical information; it was largely conceived in the form of mere starting-points, "*cogitabilia* rather than *cogitata a me*." In detail, it is sometimes quite astray. But it is the work of a being hardly rivalled for the combination of many powers, from fantasy's aerial music to appreciation of roasted potatoes; and Professor Raysor's achievement of making it all available is likely to be the masterpiece of the kind for years to come.

With it there come before us two slight works on which Coleridge's comments would have been entertaining, particularly "William Hazlitt and Hackney College," by Mr. H. W. Stephenson (Lindsey Press, 5, Essex Street, W.C.2, 2s.). Hackney College was a short-lived venture of the Unitarians, and to it, in September, 1793, the future eminent essayist was sent as a divinity student. Having at any rate had the chance to hear Priestley lecture, Hazlitt left the College after almost two years. Mr. Stephenson, struck by Hazlitt's characteristic of living in the memories of his youth, has done well to gather a good deal of evidence about Hackney College and Hazlitt's indebtedness and recurrence to his youthful Unitarian experience. It is an unassuming and agreeable pamphlet.

The other book is Mr. Greville Worthington's "Bibliography of the Waverley Novels" (Constable, 24s.), the fourth item in the series called "Bibliographia." "With its aid," says Mr. Worthington, "it should be possible to identify almost every leaf of those first editions." He is a master of the millimetre in the library, and his guide—a model of all patience—is for the grandees of book-collecting; he will probably upset some of them (for a time) by proving that some presumed "first editions" are impostors, mere odds and ends disguised. You would expect "Waverley" to be the rarest of the series in its first edition, and Mr. Worthington finds that it is so.

EDMUND BLUNDEN.

## REVIEWS

## MR. KEYNES ON MONEY

**A Treatise on Money.** By J. M. KEYNES. Two vols. (Macmillan. 15s. each vol.)

THIS is an ambitious, elaborate, and important book. All serious students of monetary problems will need, not merely to read, but thoroughly to study it. They will, indeed, meet with irritations on the way. There is too much carping at "current economic theory"—whatever precisely that may be; too much adverse comment upon classes of persons, "the bankers," "the financial purists," and so on, names not specified; too many naively patronizing remarks. It was, perhaps, a fault in Marshall that he discovered more truth in the writings of others than was in fact there, and unduly depreciated his own contributions. There is no fault of that kind in Mr. Keynes! These, however, are minor matters. There is not the slightest doubt that these two volumes constitute a notable addition to economic literature. They do this, in my opinion, not so much by their actual achievement, substantial though that is, as by their general orientation. They embody a sustained and systematic attack on the little-explored territory of "short period" economics. They are focused on the processes of change, on what precisely happens during the passage from one state of equilibrium towards another, on—to use a phrase of the author's—the dynamics of the price level. Moreover, an attempt is made to examine these matters, not only qualitatively, but also, so far as the very inadequate statistics allow, quantitatively. Much of this work is of a pioneer character, and, therefore, as Mr. Keynes frankly states, in part based on guesses. But it is, nevertheless, a great advance on anything that has been accomplished hitherto.

Book I. is entitled "The Nature of Money," and Book II. "The Value of Money." In the course of the latter Mr. Keynes contends that the term "purchasing power of money" should, in its primary sense, be referred to consumption. "We mean by the Purchasing Power of Money the power of money to buy the goods and services, on the purchase of which, for purposes of consumption, a given community of individuals expend their money income" (Vol. I., page 54). There then follows an interesting discussion of index numbers on lines that are, in the main, familiar: but Mr. Keynes succeeds in showing that the advantages of the so-called "ideal" index number and of the "chain method" are smaller than some economists—among them the present writer—have been accustomed to suppose.

Books III. and IV. contain the kernel of the analysis. It is usual for writers on money to set up some simple algebraic equation as a kind of skeleton round which the body of their analysis can be built in an orderly way. Several such skeletons are in common use. They have, of course, no value in themselves, but have often proved useful tools of thought. Mr. Keynes works with a new type of skeleton. It is so constructed as to make prominent the part played in price determination by the varying relations between "saving" and "investment." When a man diminishes his consumption and so saves money, this does not necessarily imply that either he or anybody else invests an equivalent amount of money in having capital goods created. The savings may be spilled; and, in general, this spilling carries with it a fall in the price level of consumption goods. The conception thus roughly hinted at was first—at all events in England—investigated in a thorough way by Mr. D. H. Robertson. Mr. Keynes, with the help of his new algebraic equation, builds upon and elaborates Robertson's work. In particular he is enabled by it to give an account of the *modus operandi* of bank rate much superior, as it seems to me, to previous discussions. He claims for his new equation, not, of course, that it is any "truer" than the equations employed by other writers, but that it enables the causal sequence, in many sorts of industrial disturbance, to be followed with a surer eye. This is, I think, a valid claim.

A second instrument in Mr. Keynes's workshop is a scheme of definitions under which "profit" and "loss" constitute the difference—positive and negative—between selling price and cost of the factors of production employed, in such wise that in equilibrium both are nil. When invest-

ment exceeds saving, business profits in the above sense occur, and industry is stimulated. When saving exceeds investment, business losses occur: the savings are used up in financing these losses; the losses force business men to contract the scale of their operations; and workpeople are dismissed. So long as the disequilibrium between saving and investment continues, whether or not money wages are reduced, unemployment must continually grow worse and worse. In my opinion, this portion of Mr. Keynes's analysis is not altogether satisfactory. Of course, it is true that, if people go on, month after month and year after year, withdrawing money from circulation—for this is roughly what it comes to—the conditions of equilibrium are never satisfied, and there is a kind of cumulative débâcle. Of course, too, business losses and industrial depressions are associated together. But to make business losses, defined in this way, the hub upon which everything turns seems to me misleading, if not incorrect. In industrial depressions business men are affected both by the low level of the aggregate returns that are accruing to them and by the low level of the marginal returns (in respect of a given outlay) that they expect to accrue to them. It is the whole situation, and not the balancing figure of an arbitrarily defined profit or loss, that governs their conduct. In short, as it seems to me, the relation of falling prices to industrial activity can be studied more effectively on the lines made familiar by Professor Irving Fisher than on those that, in this part of his discussion, are followed by Mr. Keynes. It will be understood, however, that this is a matter for debate among economists, not for one of those *ex cathedra* pronouncements dear to anonymous reviewers.

Books V. and VI., which constitute the first half of Volume II., are likely, for many readers, to prove the most interesting part of the work. Here are brought together very valuable and suggestive quantitative studies. Of particular interest is the attempt to split deposits into different groups, savings deposits with a nil velocity, business deposits with a high velocity, and income deposits with a moderate one. So far as this splitting is really practicable, Mr. Keynes's method is clearly better than the methods that lump all deposits together and merely enumerate the various considerations upon which the velocity of a "representative" £ depends. There is no difference in principle, but a substantial advance in realism. Thus it is shown that an important part of the war-time rise of prices in England was due to the transfer of large sums, hitherto held as savings deposits to Government account, in purchase of war loans. The tentative estimates of many quantities of high economic significance which Mr. Keynes attempts in these admirable chapters, will, it may be hoped, as he himself strongly urges, stimulate those bankers and others who possess inside knowledge to supplement, correct, and improve them.

After Book VI., which deals with the rate of interest, and about parts of which I feel considerable doubt, comes the concluding Book, entitled "The Management of Money." This contains a number of practical suggestions. In earlier parts of the work stress was laid on the difficulties which a Central Bank, desirous of controlling the price level in the interest of internal equilibrium, must experience when it is at the same time linked to the outside world by an international gold standard. Obviously, if the world value of gold rises continually over a long period, no one country can both prevent its domestic price level from falling and also remain on the gold standard. For short periods, however, it is possible in some degree to insulate a single country from the effects of outside monetary disturbances. If its Central Bank has large enough stocks of gold to enable it to view with equanimity substantial withdrawals, this can be done. Mr. Keynes makes an ingenious suggestion—or rather repeats one that he had already made in his "Tract on Monetary Reform"—for an improved method of insulation. The Bank of England—as also the Central Banks of other countries—should, he thinks, be authorized to maintain a gap of 2 per cent. between its buying price and its selling price for gold. "The object of this reform is to enable a Central Bank to protect the credit structure of its own country from the repercussions of purely temporary disturbances abroad, whilst the laws of long period equilibrium will remain the same as before" (Vol. II., page 326). This Book also con-

tains important suggestions about gold reserve laws and also about such matters as the services to international co-operation to be looked for from the Bank of International Settlements, on which an academic outsider like the present writer is not qualified to comment.

It will be understood that, in a notice of this character, written for a non-technical journal, it has not been possible—even apart from the inevitable gaps in the reviewer's knowledge—to discuss adequately a closely reasoned scientific work of nearly eight hundred pages. About large parts of it I have said nothing at all; and what I have said has necessarily been in very rough outline. Though there are several sections of Vol. II. in which the general reader will find interest, the book is addressed in the main to professional economists and monetary experts. But the subject matter has a direct and very important bearing upon affairs; for a right understanding and a right treatment of monetary problems would undoubtedly much alleviate the endemic disease of unemployment. I entertain the hope, therefore—and economists who disagree as well as those who agree with Mr. Keynes's main theses will be of one mind in this—that before long he will write a shorter and less severely technical volume in which the broad outline of his thought is made accessible to the general body of politically minded persons.

A. C. PIGOU.

### THE UNION

**The Genius of Ireland.** By GEORGE TOWNSEND. (Talbot Press. 3s. 6d.)

**Scotland in Eclipse.** By ANDREW DEWAR GIBB. (Humphrey Toulmin. 5s.)

**The Kingdom of Scotland Restored.** By GEORGE MALCOLM THOMSON. (Humphrey Toulmin. 1s.)

**The Twelve-Winded Sky.** By E. L. WOODWARD. (Constable. 10s.)

**Scraps.** By M. B. OXON. (Daniel. 6s.)

**The Development of English Humour.** By LOUIS CAZAMIAN. (Macmillan. 8s. 6d.)

**The Philosophy of English Literature.** By J. INGRAM BRYAN. (Maruzen, Tokyo; Kegan Paul. 6s.)

"I wore the red and I wore the blue," lamented the Croppy Boy; "I wore the green and the orange too." With these books in front of me, I understand him as never before. Enrolled under the green, with a birth-cum-residential qualification for the red, I have taken to visiting Scotland, and left a considerable portion of my heart in the Highlands near Fort William. An editorial voice, coming to my rescue, bids me take Canon Townsend first.

His title is ambitious. There are other aspects of the Irish genius than those he discusses, and into the contemporary Irish mind he hardly penetrates at all. In a book of this kind one might reasonably expect some account, for instance, of Irish oratory, both political and forensic, of Irish medicine, of Irish music. Upon current affairs we get one profound comment: "The Irish temperament was—and is—markedly spiritual." It is precisely this quality which can so often play hell in an objective, materialistic environment: vision incorrectly related to reality. Canon Townsend laments that Irish humour is in eclipse. If this be the case, it is natural enough, since Irishmen have more serious business to attend to than they had; but I had not noticed any falling off myself. Canon Townsend makes many references to literature, some of which read a little queerly. It is surprising to be told that English humour is associated with Lamb and Sidney Smith: to hear A.E. compared to Emerson, and the difference established, that Emerson was a thinker! With all respect to Canon Townsend, "The Countess Cathleen" is not Mr. Yeats's best work, nor does his later poetry "no longer move men's hearts." But there is much to like in the book: a firm, fine point of view, a masterly account of the Irish saints, and many a kindly reference to men in danger of being forgotten, such as the delightful and ever-to-be-lamented Percy French.

To Scottish, as to any nationalist claims, we must all be sympathetic, whether or no we believe that they can take effect. "They feel that Scotland has still an individual rôle

to play . . . other than a mere voice in the British crowd," says Mr. Thomson of the Nationalists. Reading his pages, and the full and able documentation of Mr. Gibb, we must agree that Scottish national qualities are endangered. Yet—if so frivolous an objection will be forgiven—the legitimate wish to keep out immigrants works sometimes strangely. Scotland, depending largely on summer visitors, has been doing her best to keep them away by charging them excessive prices. If this is a gesture of renunciation, well; but if it is unintentional, and the Sassenach's presence is desired, then, on the principle of no taxation without representation, it will be difficult to deny him his undoubted finger in the legal and administrative pie. But, seriously, these books set forth a real disorder, and Mr. Thomson (with unusual insight into the spirit of the time) suggests a remedy.

A title like "The Twelve-Winded Sky" makes one nervous, and I still wish Mr. Woodward had not chosen it. His mind and mine do not exactly jump together, but he writes with such love of Oxford and of the West Country that, whatever else he said, I should have to like his book and recommend it. "M.B. Oxon," on the other hand, is unnecessarily retiring and modest about his "Scraps"—short essays upon a wide range of interesting subjects, shrewd, terse, and full of sound sense:—

"If we only observe events there can be no prophecy. . ."

"The Science of formal mind promises us all the world . . . if we will fall down and worship. So did Germany. . ."

"All the Utopias which have been suggested since time immemorial have been based on the assumption that men can be treated like logs of wood."

There is no space here to do more than commend M. Cazamian's book to all who are interested in its subject. His comment on the theory that the Normans brought mirth into England shows, as well as any other example, the detachment with which he approaches his work. To say more, in so short a notice, would be an impertinence to a work of taste and scholarship.

I do not know if Mr. Ingram Bryan's book is "almost

Ludwig Renn's

## AFTER WAR

Sequel to "War"

7s. 6d.

SECKER

in every way unique," as the wrapper attractively proclaims; but some of the judgments in it fairly merit that adjective. Indeed, save in the essays of Mr. Bryan's pupils, it is to be hoped they will remain so. The attempt to find a deliberate philosophy in the work of every writer leads to some curious valuations, particularly in the case of writers Mr. Bryan does not understand. In general, however, he keeps to safe paths:—

"The increasing frankness in regard to sex and its implications, in modern literature, is doubtless but a reflection of the revolution going on in society. . . ."

"Almost unique" is, perhaps, the right phrase.

L. A. G. STRONG.

### THE UNIVERSE AND ITS GOD

**The Mysterious Universe.** By SIR JAMES JEANS. (Cambridge University Press. 3s. 6d.)

**The Universe Around Us.** Second Edition. By SIR JAMES JEANS. (Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d.)

**Science, Religion, and Human Nature.** Conway Memorial Lecture. By JULIAN S. HUXLEY. (Watts. 2s.)

**Astronomy: An Introduction.** By ROBERT H. BAKER. (Macmillan. 16s.)

SIR JAMES JEANS provides one of the most significant and important signs of present-day tendencies. It can be traced here from its outermost aspect on a yellow wrapper-band, to its nucleus hidden within the last chapter of his latest book. The new, enlarged edition of "The Universe Around Us" arrives decked with the announcement that forty thousand copies of the first edition have been sold in Great Britain and U.S.A. The immediate reason for this success lies obviously in Sir James's gift for popularizing and vividly imagining technical problems of physics and cosmogony. But popular science is not popular fiction; it still demands effort and concentration from the intelligent, untrained reader, who is usually too busy in his own sphere to study difficult, if simplified, subjects that appear to have no bearing on his life. Humanity has its private, individual problems; behind them it meets in an undying search—for truth, reality, faith, or harmony; call it what you will. The search takes different turns at different periods, but as long as man is vital it will never stop, for the searching constitutes vitality. In mediæval times the key to knowledge, wisdom, and such truth as could be found was in the Church's hands. In our day it appears that thought and speculation as to ultimates must come to us through physical science.

The position is totally altered since last century, when science was a materialistic power. Modern scientists, led to discard their old material, brick by brick, find an intangible universe emerging, which they, more than anyone else, must wonder at. Sir James, in the first four chapters of his new work, traces this growing insubstantiality of scientific concepts, till all that one can touch or make a picture of is lost. The jelly-like ether and the bullet-like electron are abandoned fictions. Even the four- or multi-dimensional space-time continuum becomes a fiction, but in another sense. It exists as a mathematical concept, whose complete abstractness is shown by the necessary presence in its formula of an "imaginary" number: the square root of  $-1$ . Where mechanism and rationalism failed, pure mathematics would appear to account brilliantly for the laws of nature. But it can explain them only in its own terms. It follows that a mathematical universe can reveal its workings only to a mathematician.

This is to state the case objectively, from Sir James's point of view. To see it in the round we need the converse: that only a mathematician can be capable of conceiving the universe at first hand in such terms as these. The mathematician is a rare being, more privileged than the artist in that his creations of pure abstract thought are completely independent of the external world. In his own mind he deals with the two qualities of precision and intangibility, formulating his own laws. And now it appears to him that the phenomena of nature are manifestations of concepts that exactly match his own. This leads Sir James to the philosophical conclusion of his final chapter. The universe, he suggests, is a creation of pure thought.

It is no sudden leap into philosophy. Hints of this view were in his previous works. When he wrote in "Eos" that the universe "may be a dream, and we the brain-cells in the mind of the dreamer" we were inclined to take it as the fanciful last sentence of a popular booklet. Even "The Universe Around Us," referring more specifically to the theory of "the universe as a thought in the mind of its Creator," left the cosmogonist, as a scientist, uncommitted. But now Sir James has boldly plunged into a philosophy that pictures the creation as an act of thought and the "Great Architect of the Universe" as a pure mathematician, or universal mind of which the human thinker's brain is a unit.

In vulgar parlance, he has fairly put his foot in it. And we can feel nothing less than gratitude to him for doing so. Not for any ultimate finality in his interpretation, but because it both leads and indicates the contemporary outlook. This chapter, or something not unlike it, had almost inevitably to be written. Yet only a mathematician could have been led by direct steps to the writing of it; and only one who brought to astronomical and physical exploration the imaginative vision of an artist. It may be admired and enjoyed first for its sheer freedom and simplicity; its solution of outstanding physical and rational problems by transcending them, its reduction of matter and the whole puzzling immensity of space-time to a creation and manifestation of mind.

One may then consider where, as an objective theory, it appears to fail and curve back on itself. The mathematician of to-day is the more advanced equivalent of the ancient mystic. His direct contact with the postulates of pure thought can no more be conveyed to the general world than the mystic's sense of God. He is driven to make images for our benefit (even, occasionally, as in the case of wave-mechanics, for his own). So it is irrelevant to the main argument to object that the images are muddled. Sir James, for instance, uses Plato's simile of the shadows in the cave; yet on his own argument it is not shadow cast by substance that we see, but substance cast, as it were, by abstract formulæ. This perception of unrelated abstractness appears to be an unstable mental state. The mystic's abstract experience is of an inner harmony, but he projects it to form a god of his own species. Jeans, the mathematician-mystic, finds an intangible felicity in the accurate accordance of natural law with the brain's hypotheses, and argues from it a creator like to his own thought. The conception is infinitely broader, more impersonal and imaginative, while growing from minutely exact roots. Yet there is no escaping the sense that the concept of a pure-thought creator must come home, like a ray of light that has been round the universe, to the brain which fashioned it.

Professor Julian Huxley is in quest, not of a philosophy of ultimates, but of a working religion for mankind. In this case the part played by science is mainly the rationalistic one of myth-destroyer. Professor Huxley spends a large part of a brief lecture in demolishing theism. His constructive suggestion, if "constructive" can describe a widening of the view by demolition, is a religion with a sense of sacredness and progress, but without a God. The two halves of his lecture appear somehow to be directed to different audiences. The first half might secure him a lynching no nearer home than Tennessee. It seems to be meant for very plain John Citizen who goes to church through habit, and will now be set to "think." But his thinking will not fit him all at once for the decentralized, abstract, and essentially individual religious sense that Professor Huxley's own mind can embrace. The plain man, whose theology must henceforth be based on natural science, is to be allowed organized retreats and ritual; he will soon be searching for the Unknown God. His god, matching his theology, must be impersonal. Well, here is Jeans's pure-thought creator, placing the entire universe in man's grasp. Imagery must obviously follow. Churches might be planetariums, and missionary funds be spent on telescopes. Is this a *reductio ad absurdum*? It hints at least at the difficulty of making the intangible practical. Professor Huxley, in this lecture, sets out to find a practical, general religion. This is what makes his idealistic concept, which, in "Religion Without Revelation," read so well as the

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expression of an individual harmony, appear inadequate or premature. As the prophet of a popular religion, he is too negative and cautious—too sincere and sane.

Let us get back to the truly practical. The discoveries of science move two ways: eastward into speculation, westward into text-books. Dr. Baker, of Illinois University, has written a really excellent students' text-book, embodying the latest theories of cosmogony and stellar evolution—or almost the latest, for an astronomical book is no sooner published than it is out of date. Unfortunately one cannot prophesy the same honourable wear and tear for it in England as in America, where the subject forms part of the regular college curriculum. But its lucidity and wealth of illustration should endear it even to the most rabbit-brained dabbles in astronomy. One of them, at least, finds it more fascinating to dip into than an anthology of modern poems. But on such matters taste is personal.

SYLVA NORMAN.

### THE SOCIAL SCENE

**Edwardian Hey-Days.** By GEORGE CORNWALLIS-WEST. (Putnam. 15s.)

**The World, the House, and the Bar.** By SIR ELLIS HUME-WILLIAMS. (Murray. 12s.)

**I Hope They Won't Mind.** ANONYMOUS. (Nash & Grayson. 12s. 6d.)

THE social scene is perennially entertaining, and any autobiography which portrays with any degree of intimacy the world of the author's time, if only that corner of it in which he himself flourished, is sure of an audience. For even the austere lover of ideas is glad at times to relax and to resume touch with persons, and with life as lived on the ordinary levels of every day; to seek drama in anecdote and footnotes to history in the dishabille of well-known people.

Major Cornwallis-West's sketches of Edwardian Society comply with all the rules of the game, for they are amiable, racy, and at first hand. The heir of an ancient house, son of perhaps the most beautiful of a group of beautiful women, the brother of two great hostesses, and the husband successively of such notable women as Lady Randolph Churchill and Mrs. Patrick Campbell, Major Cornwallis-West has lived at the centre of the world that amuses itself, and he has stories to tell us of most of the social celebrities of his time. It would be unfair to suggest that he shines only in reflected light, for he has lived a full and varied life. He soldiered in South Africa and in the Great War, when he was with the expedition to Antwerp, which he holds to have been far less abortive than it appeared superficially. He has ventured in finance, has succeeded in many sports, and has dabbled in the arts; indeed, his correspondence with Mr. Shaw and Sir James Barrie is among the best things in a book which for all its lightness suggests that if George Cornwallis-West had found the world more difficult to conquer he might have conquered it more effectively.

Sir Ellis Hume-Williams writes mainly of politics, the bar, and the war, but he also writes mainly from the angle of personal contacts. He tells us stories of the political contests and famous cases in which he has been engaged. Particularly entertaining are his accounts of subsequent social encounters with his clients and victims. It must be something of an ordeal for counsel to be seated at dinner next to the lady he has that day cross-examined in the Divorce Court. Yet Sir Ellis tells us that on an occasion when this happened to him all went well. Of his political character sketches, the best is probably that of Lord Curzon in festive mood, a mood more truly photographic of him than was the mask of a false superciliousness through which only his intimates could discern the real man. The book is quite light reading, but it contains some experienced comment on the ethics of divorce that deserves serious consideration.

The anonymity of the author of "I Hope They Won't Mind" is only partial, for he gives so many clues that the curious may easily identify him. He is mainly engaged with the social scene, and with personalities, though on the whole it is probably safe to say they will not mind. The circle that is most closely described, is that section of

society with a capital S which has artistic leanings, for the author is himself a musician, and has known most of the famous composers and performers of the day, and has frequented the great houses of the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, where music and its makers were esteemed. He is a skilled raconteur, and his stories are lively and entertaining. He once set a play of Major Cornwallis-West's to music, but the Major, though he refers to the incident, by some curious fatality fails to mention the composer by name.

FRANK A. CLEMENT.

### THE DARK AGE OF THE THEATRE

**A History of Early Nineteenth-Century Drama, 1800-1850.** By ALLARDYCE NICOLL. Two vols. (Cambridge University Press. 30s.)

IN this latest instalment of his work, Professor Nicoll, who began at 1660, deals with the dreariest and darkest age of English playwriting. It is also the bulkiest. The second volume, of over three hundred pages, consists entirely of a handlist of plays of all sorts, and there are some twenty-five plays to a page. Total, about eight thousand, nearly every one of them shockingly bad. Planché takes up seven pages in this list, while a hundred and fifty are occupied by authors whose very names have sunk into oblivion, well-earned, no doubt, for oblivion is not to be hired. We ask ourselves whether Professor Nicoll has read all these works, and we piously hope not. At all events he has wisely attempted to discuss only a typical few in his first volume, which is, so far, the best of his writings, performed with spirit, energy, and a sense of humour.

Perhaps he has bettered himself in this instance because he has felt free to say exactly what he liked, whereas when dealing with the second half of the eighteenth century he was trammelled by a sneaking affection for some plays which are almost as bad as those of this period; they somehow managed to retain a semblance of virtue. He was also a little too much inclined to think a play good because actors found it so, but it was the actors who ruined the drama: they were gaining in power all through the eighteenth century, with the lamentable results we have before us in this book. It was not until the literary man began to assert himself towards the end of the century, beginning with Robertson and going on to Wilde, that the theatre began to be bearable again. Professor Nicoll does not by any means agree with this: the men of letters, he argues, should have adapted themselves, and the romantic poets were naughty, spoilt children not to try (though why it should be the duty of poets to write for the stage, he does not explain). But they did try—Wordsworth, Shelley, Byron, Scott, Browning, and the result was lamentable, either as literature, or as play, or as both. It was better for them to refrain from touching the nasty thing. This, it is true, gave rise to that form of drama which is unreadable as well as unactable, that which is not meant to be acted, or could not be acted, those turgid volumes of Tennyson and Swinburne which have made the name of "literature" stink in the nostrils of actors; and this was a fault as much on the other side of the balance as the silliness of the acted playwrights was on the stage side. But literature and the theatre were of temperaments so incompatible, that any marriage between them was doomed to ghastly failure.

Why, then, write about it? Professor Nicoll has asked himself that question, and found the triumphant answer: "This is historically an important age, for it is the link between the old and the new, between the post-chaise and the railway, between Sheridan and Robertson. It is impossible to take up the study of modern drama intelligently without understanding to the full that which went before." His aim is "the appreciation of English dramatic history," so he can enter into the period with zest and a clear conscience. As a study it is full of amusement; to trace the causes of the rot is illuminating, and serves as a dreadful warning. The eighteenth century's passionate interest in Shakespeare, as intense but less intelligent than that of the seventeenth, gave rise to those futile imitations which lead to death. The audiences were unutterably low, while the



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censorship was unutterably pure. As more and more theatres came into being (the restriction of licenses to two theatres was in due course abandoned), they vied with each other in being popular; and everybody knows what that means. Playing to the gallery was an unavoidable affair in the literal sense of the term, and so was writing to it, especially after the introduction of seats in the pit brought a more educated audience immediately in front of the footlights. There was plenty of rowdiness, and the theatres were enormous, so that acting became more and more a matter of grimace, an evil from which we are not yet entirely free.

That is to touch on only two or three of the aspects of the time. Professor Nicoll deals with many more; he handles them well and freely, and his analysis is admirable. There is also much that is entertaining in this volume, and it is much to be hoped that this prodigious study (it deserves the adjective) will be taken at least down to and including Robertson. It would not be fair to ask Professor Nicoll to last out further than that.

BONAMY DOBRÉE.

### THE CRISIS IN INDIA

**Dawn in India.** By SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I. (Murray. 10s. 6d.)

**Federal India.** By COLONEL K. N. HAKSAR and K. M. PANNIKAR. (Hopkinson. 10s. 6d.)

HERE are two books, both dealing with the present political crisis in India, but one written, as it were, for amateurs, the other for professionals. Sir Francis Younghusband is a born traveller, equally happy exploring in the Himalayas, leading an expedition into Tibet, or seeking spiritual truth in the realms of the spirit. His last volume is as shrewd, kindly, and readable as those which have preceded it, and though written primarily for a Canadian audience, it is an admirable and safe guide for anyone who wishes to understand the underlying causes which have brought about the present deadlock. The following quotation might be taken as the text round which the book is written: "Indians in their hearts regard Europeans as rough, vigorous peoples just emerging from barbarism—as stout fighters and stern rulers, but spiritually still barbarians. But though these were their secret thoughts, they had had for a century to keep them secret." Few Englishmen are as well qualified as Sir Francis Younghusband to understand and explain the Hindu point of view, while his long experience of the Frontier, and his knowledge of certain backward Indian States, where spirituality was at a discount, have prevented him from drifting into the sentimental approach to Indian questions which repels so many more people than it attracts. This book should be read by all, Indians as well as English, who hope that whatever may be the outcome of the present political struggle there will "always remain that social, and cultural, and spiritual connection with England which has in fact been the mighty originating cause of her present revival."

Everyone who has any connection with the Round-Table Conference, knows that Colonel Haksar and Mr. Pannikar are two of the most influential members of the very powerful delegation which represents the Indian States. The acceptance by the Princes of the idea of an All-India Federation has been the one outstanding feature of the Conference, and has possibly saved it from becoming a mere wordy struggle between the politicians of Britain and those of British India. Within a week the delegations had settled down to discussing the form of a Federal Government, and if the Conference has been saved from drifting into futilities the whole Empire owes much to those statesmen from Indian India who have spent the last few months in thinking about the future of their country instead of concentrating upon past grievances. It is, of course, possible to criticize the actual form of federation which is advocated in this book, but it is impossible to deal with this extremely complicated subject in a review. It is well known that even within the delegation from the States there is more than one school of thought, and such questions as the creation of a Supreme

Court, and the responsibility of a federal executive, will have to be thrashed out with the delegates from British India, and ultimately decided by Parliament itself. In such a struggle an immense advantage lies with any section of opinion which can put forward a considered and documented case. There are, unfortunately, no signs that either the British Government or the delegation from British India have put in a tithe of the work and thought that is so apparent in everything brought forward from the side of the Indian States. "Federal India" is a rebuke and a portent, and its authors are to be congratulated on being first in the field with a very able and important work.

G. T. GARRATT.

### OUT OF THE ETHER

**A Broadcast Anthology of Modern Poetry.** Edited by DOROTHY WELLESLEY. (The Hogarth Press. 4s. 6d.)

**Ploughed Earth.** By CLAUDE COLLEER ABBOTT. (Constable. 5s.)

**Sunflower and Elm.** By GERTRUDE WOODTHORPE. (Sidgwick & Jackson. 3s. 6d.)

**A Book of Grace.** By GRACE RHYS. (Dent. 6s.)

**The Frozen Ocean.** By VIOLA MEYNELL. (Secker. 7s. 6d.)

**Jonah Comes to Nineveh.** By HERBERT PALMER. (The Mill House Press. 8s. 6d.)

THE "Broadcast Anthology of Modern Poetry" is a catholic collection of poems written by twenty-eight of the most considerable poets born within the last fifty years. The virtue of an anthology is generally found in the way it differs from its predecessors. The present anthology scores by a spaciousness which prevents one poem impinging on its neighbour—there is always a temptation in an anthology to read a dozen bits of poems rather than one poem—and also by adequate representation. The poems of each author are grouped together as far as is consistent with a division of subject-matter, and the whole anthology admirably introduces modern poetry to modern listeners through that properly poetic medium, the ear.

Claude Collier Abbott is represented in the "Broadcast Anthology" by two poems taken from a previous book to which he has now published a successor. The poems in "Ploughed Earth" are characterized by a directness of speech and an accuracy of observation, out of gratitude for which gifts the book is dedicated to Geoffrey Chaucer. Mr. Abbott does not dress up what he sees to accord with his mood. He is content that the outlier stag, "the master cunning stag," should remain a legend and that the stranger "in the small dark house behind the village green" should remain a stranger. It is not that he does not perceive the hidden depths, the implications. He does not wish to drag them out. It is better to leave them implied in the same way as a face implies character or a cloudy sky rain.

The first poem of the book gives the two faces of nature from which the character behind the subsequent poems may be divined—the kindliness of nature and the brutality, the sensibility of those who have to do with nature and the callousness, the mystery of nature and the openhandedness.

"In the cold March dusk  
The wood's north edge shivered its wintry husk  
Drab and resentful still.  
Trees sighed 'Ah, come not in,  
Silent our birds and dark the maze within  
While east winds chill.'

"But at this further end  
Thorns green with leaves more delicate than petals bend  
Gracious and welcoming.  
'Shine sun, early and late,  
Our budded boughs with lovely branches wait,'  
Blackbird and thrush sing."

One word in praise of Mr. Abbott's craftsmanship. The above stanzas are an example.

Where Mr. Abbott is content to leave the mystery to be divined behind his intuitive descriptions, Gertrude Woodthorpe in "Sunflower and Elm" endeavours to be interpreter, to question and to find an answer:—

"Wilt thou not tell the secret of it all,  
O wise, sweet, shepherdess?"

These poems in their reading of earth seize upon the spiritual overtones, but in spite of a theistic approach to nature, the supernatural is rejected in favour of a higher percipience of

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W. N. SEELEY, Secretary.

### AUDITORS' REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF BARCLAYS BANK LIMITED.

We have compared the above Balance Sheet with the balances on the Books at the Head Office, and with the detailed Returns from the Branches. We have verified the Cash with the Bank of England, the Cash and Bills at the Head Office, the Investments of the Bank and the Securities held against Money at Call and Short Notice. We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required, and we are of the opinion that the above Balance Sheet is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Bank's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shewn by the Books and Returns of the Bank.

LONDON, 8th January, 1931.

KEMP, CHATTERIS, NICHOLS, SENDELL & CO., } Auditors.  
PRICE, WATERHOUSE & CO., }

the natural from which come fulfilment and content.  
"Perilous is Heaven, the other world," but:—

"You by your own desires long tossed,  
Seek not in Heaven aught of serene,  
Far wiser wholly to be lost  
In depths of quiet green."

In simple observation without the expression of the sensitive self involved these poems excel.

"A Book of Grace," by Grace Rhys, is a second and unhappily a posthumous book of essays by one of the most penetrating and individual of essayists. These short essays are sparks of fire like those struck out by the Dromios, that pair of smooth flints beloved in childhood. They are the illumination in a beautiful and stored mind of the experience of beauty. No one, I think, can with such skill diffract and explain colour and light and yet at once give the whole glow and richness in her words. In the poems also contained in this volume the ego is rightly more universalized than in the essays; they express the sadness in this world of all humanity rather than the joy on earth of a single person.

The poems in "The Frozen Ocean," by Viola Meynell, read with one or two exceptions like set subject pieces. There is no reason against this. The imagery is careful and has a sort of dream reality; that of Jonah's whale is good:—

"So distant were his parts that they  
Sent but a dull faint message to his brain.  
He knew not his own flesh, as great kings may  
Not know the farther places where they reign."

Those who wish to know what became of Jonah when he escaped from the whale,

"Loined with seaweed yellow and gray,  
Scales to his forehead clinging,"

must read Mr. Palmer's ballad, "Jonah comes to Nineveh."

JAMES THORNTON.

## BRIDGE

By CALIBAN.

### ANSWERS TO THE CHRISTMAS BRIDGE COMPETITION PROBLEMS

North	
West East	
South	

PROBLEM I.—Score: love-all.  
East deals and passes. What should South bid, holding:—

♠ K J 3 ♥ K 8  
♦ A Q 10 8 4 ♣ A K Q

The Judges' answer is *Two Diamonds*. With this a high proportion of our competitors agree. One Diamond, Three Diamonds, One No-Trump, Two No-Trumps, Three No-Trumps, and One Club were also suggested. The last-mentioned bid was presumed to be a "Vanderbilt" Club, and where submitted was duly credited.

PROBLEM II.—Score: West-East, game and 40; North-South, love.

South deals. What should he bid, holding:—

♠ None ♥ Q J 9 8 5 4 3 2 ♦ K J ♣ K Q 5

This was apparently the easiest of our problems. About 50 per cent. of competitors arrived at the right answer—*Four Hearts*. Other suggestions were: No Bid, One Heart, Two Hearts, and Three Hearts. "No Bid" is probably the second best bid, and was submitted by two of our prize-winners.

PROBLEM III.—Score: game-all. West deals and passes; North passes; East bids One Spade. What should South bid, holding:—

♠ Q 6 4 2 ♥ A Q 5 3 ♦ K Q ♣ A J 10

The Judge's answer is: *Double*—with which, again, there was fairly general concurrence. One No-Trump, Two No-Trumps, and pass (!) had also their supporters.

PROBLEM IV.—Score: game-all. North deals and bids Four Spades. East passes. What should South bid, holding:—

♠ A ♥ A Q J 10 5 4 ♦ K 9 ♣ A 10 5 2

The Judges' answer is: *Six Spades*—the solution most popular with competitors. No Bid, Five Clubs, Five Hearts, Five Spades, and Seven Spades were also advocated.

PROBLEM V.—Score: North-South one game; East-West, love. East deals and passes; South bids Two Diamonds; West, Two Spades. What should North bid, holding:—

♠ None ♥ A 6 3 2 ♦ 10 9 2 ♣ K J 9 8 6 3

The Judges' favour the "forcing overbid"—*Three Spades*. The most popular bid with competitors was Three Clubs. Three Diamonds, Four Diamonds, and No Bid (!) were also suggested.

PROBLEM VI.—Score: game-all. West deals and bids One No-Trump; North doubles; East passes. What should South bid, holding:—

♠ K J 9 3 ♥ A 10 4 2 ♦ 5 ♣ K J 10 9

The Judges' answer is *No Bid*—the "business pass." This problem proved a real stumbling-block. Two No-Trumps was the most popular solution; also ran: Two Clubs, Two Hearts, and Two Spades.

PROBLEM VII.—Score: love-all. South deals and holds:

♠ A 7 5 4 3 ♥ 10 7 4 3 2 ♦ A 6 ♣ 5

The bidding is as follows:—

Round	1	2	3
South	No bid	1 NT	No bid
West	1 ♠	2 ♠	3 ♠
North	Double	3 ♥	4 ♠
East	No bid	Double	4 NT

What should South bid now?

This difficult problem also wrought havoc among competitors. Most of them favoured *Double*, and most of the remainder *Five Hearts*. The Judges' answer is *No Bid*.

PROBLEM VIII.—Score: love-all. South bids Four Spades; all pass. What should West lead, holding:—

♠ J 2 ♥ J 3 2 ♦ Q 10 4 ♣ K J 9 8 2

Answer: Jack of Spades. About 30 per cent. of competitors agreed with the Judges.

PROBLEM IX.—Score: love all. East deals, and the bidding is as follows:—

East	1 ♠	2 ♥	No
South	No	No	No
West	2 ♦	4 ♥	
North	No	No	

What should South lead, holding:—

♠ A Q 4 ♥ 5 3 ♦ A J 8 7 6 ♣ Q 6 5

Answer: Five of Hearts. Here, again, there were several schools of thought. (It must be understood, of course, that the Judges make no pretence of infallibility!)

PROBLEM X.—

♠ A K Q J  
♥ A Q 10  
♦ None  
♣ Q J 10 9 8 2

North	
West East	
South	

♠ 6 5 4 3 2  
♥ None  
♦ A 7 5 4 3 2  
♣ A K

Score: love-all. South deals.

(1) How should South and North bid their hands, if there is no intervening bid by West or East?

(2) How should the hand be played?

There are several ways of bidding this hand. Space forbids my setting them out here; but I will explore them in detail, as also the play of the hand, when I submit the various problems to detailed review. The final bid, in the Judges' opinion, should be *Seven Spades*, played by North.

## COMPANY MEETING.

## MIDLAND BANK LIMITED.

The Ordinary General Meeting of the Midland Bank, Limited, was held on January 21st, 1931. The Chairman, the Right Hon. R. McKenna, said in part:—

Among the outstanding economic developments of recent months none has given rise to so much comment as the absorption of gold by France and the United States. Neither of these countries has any desire to increase its gold stock; but it is easier to find the cause of the movement than to stop it. In the past few years the debtor countries, which in general are producers of primary commodities, have found it more and more difficult to provide, by sales of their products and new borrowings abroad, sufficient external funds to meet their current obligations. On the one hand, the decline in prices has seriously reduced the proceeds of their exports; on the other, it has become increasingly difficult for them to raise new external loans. America has shown less readiness to lend abroad than in former years, and France as a source of capital has been almost entirely closed to the foreign borrower. The other principal creditor, Great Britain, while continuing to lend substantial sums abroad, has had too small a surplus to meet all the demands for accommodation. As a result of these conditions the United States and France have been compelled to accept large quantities of gold, while two at least of the debtor countries have been forced off the gold standard. Maldistribution of gold and falling prices, inability to borrow and unwillingness to lend, have thus gone hand in hand in a continuous process of action and reaction. The gold standard has not been working as might have been anticipated from a study of pre-war practice, and the question naturally arises whether in the new conditions it is possible for central banks to prevent such a precipitous fall in the price level as that of the last eighteen months.

## PRICE LEVEL STABILIZATION

It is undeniable that one of the factors which govern the price level is under the control of the central bank, namely, the total quantity of money outstanding in the form of bank deposits and currency. It is equally true that the rates charged by the banks to borrowers, though not controlled by the central bank, tend in normal times to respond to its policy. There are two further monetary factors, however, over which no definite control can be exercised by the central bank, although it would be too much to say that it has no influence on them. The first of these is the rate at which money circulates; the second the use to which money is put. It is a matter of common observation that the velocity of turnover is strongly affected by changes in public sentiment. Business becomes better when people feel better about it. The expectation of profit is the natural stimulus to enterprise, and without such expectation new enterprise, which is the foundation of business expansion, will not come into action.

The question of the use of money is not less important than the rate of turnover. In America a relatively small part of the additional money provided by the central banks over the period 1921 to 1928 was used in trade and industry. Much more was employed in speculation, which was notoriously carried to an extreme. Some speculation in commodities, securities or other capital values goes on at all times and fulfils a legitimate and useful function, but in this case it rose to wholly abnormal heights and reached a point at which the Federal Reserve Banks, given the existing banking structure, had no power of effective resistance.

The events of the succeeding period of American history emphasize again the importance of factors outside the direct, effective control of central banks. Between 1928 and 1930 the volume of money in America has been approximately stable. Yet the maintenance of total money supplies, even though supplemented by a vast release of funds from speculative activity, has failed to prevent a precipitous fall in prices, accompanied by disastrous trade depression. The existing supplies of money were immobilized to a great extent and the rate of turnover drastically reduced, as a result of the psychology of fear which developed from the stock market collapse. American monetary policy failed to maintain prosperity, first, because it could not control the use of money, and subsequently, and as a consequence, because it could not persuade the public to use the money it provided. The British experience of recent years, though widely different from the American, demonstrates almost as clearly the importance of these uncontrolled elements in the

monetary situation. It is true that we have not experienced in this country any riot of speculation. We have, however, witnessed a prolonged tendency for money to accumulate as time deposits with the banks, a process which has been greatly accentuated in the last year.

There is still, however, another aspect of this matter. Even though money accumulates as time deposits and becomes idle, so far as the public are concerned, yet the banks make use of it, and the way in which they do so is shown by the movements in their earning assets. Here we may refer for illustration to the figures of our own Bank, where we find that, although deposits have increased over the past year, advances have fallen. The decline in advances has occurred, not because of any change in the policy of the Bank, but solely because less accommodation has been demanded. For the first time for many years the legitimate demand for accommodation has been below what we have been prepared to grant.

The non-use of money, however, need not always arise from a widespread feeling of depression; it may be at times the consequence of excessive saving. It has long been the custom to give an unqualified blessing to thrift, mainly on the grounds of personal discipline and the due recognition of responsibilities. Whatever blessings thrift may confer, however, on the individual, there are times when, judged by the interests of general economic welfare, it may be carried to excess. The subject is worth mentioning because there are indications that in the United States the expenditure of the American people on consumption is less than is required to keep the existing business organization going, and below what their earnings would justify.

## THE PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION

Summarizing the situation in all its aspects, I would ascribe the economic troubles of the world to three main causes. First, we are suffering from maldistribution of gold due to the relative inability or unwillingness of creditor countries to lend to debtor countries. Secondly, the public has not yet recovered from the reaction from the American stock market collapse. And thirdly, we are still feeling the effects of the long period of deflation in this country. In this situation it may be asked: From what direction can recovery be expected? Low money rates, which provide an inducement to the long-term investment of accumulated bank deposits, will naturally help to stimulate industrial activity. The United States and France would seem to be realizing more clearly the necessity of lending abroad on a large and continuous scale if international equilibrium is to be restored and maintained. Further, the policy of deflation, in the sense of periodic reductions of money supplies, has probably been abandoned in this country. It is earnestly to be hoped that under the combined influence of these factors the state of public sentiment will gradually improve.

If monetary policy can do little in present circumstances to stimulate recovery by positive action, it can at any rate preserve conditions favourable to recovery by keeping money plentiful and cheap. The question arises whether catastrophes as bad as the present one might not be altogether avoided. True, a central bank in a creditor country cannot directly regulate the volume of external lending, but it can stimulate it by keeping internal money rates low; and, though a central bank has no direct influence over public psychology, we must remember that a depressed state of mind is initially a resultant of bad trade before becoming a cause of its continuance. There remain for consideration possible ways and means by which the central bank may be able to regulate the use of money.

It has long been recognized that, in this country at any rate, the central bank can go far towards checking a speculative boom, particularly in its early stages, by the use of the official discount rate, supported when necessary by open market policy. In America the bank rate instrument is more difficult to use, and it is not surprising that American bank rate policy proved ineffective to check the recent boom. The difficulties of monetary policy are, then, not wholly international, nor, on the other hand, can they be overcome entirely by individual central banks. Obviously the problem of the use of the world's gold supplies is international in character, and can be dealt with only by co-operation among central banks. There is already evidence of a general willingness to co-operate, but no indication yet of continuous common action based upon an agreed policy. The first essential must be a full recognition of the imperative need of a steady general level of commodity prices. Trade cannot prosper while the world's monetary units are subject to such wide variations in purchasing power as we have witnessed in recent years. When this fact has been realized, and the common policy of central banks has been translated into action, we may anticipate much more rapid progress in the field of monetary policy and a nearer approach to the time when we can regard our monetary system as fully abreast of our productive organization.

Mr. McKenna then dealt with the progress of the Bank during the past year. The Report was adopted, and other ordinary business was transacted.

## THE WEEK IN THE CITY

By TOREADOR

## TOBACCO AND THE BUDGET—MR. GOODENOUGH—GOLD SHARES—TILLING'S—AUSTRALIA

THE Bank chairmen are now delivering their annual homilies. Apart from the lucid lecture on monetary theory which the shareholders of the Midland Bank will expect from Mr. McKenna, it is safe to predict that each will proceed, after apologizing for the decline in bank profits, to attribute the trade slump to other than monetary causes, and to call upon the Government to reduce its wicked expenditure, and not to listen to Mr. Keynes. The City will heartily endorse these sentiments, for it is already speculating fearfully on the secrets of the next Budget and the coming deficit in the national accounts. The opinion is widely held that, as no Chancellor of the Exchequer will dare to increase income tax or super tax, beer and tobacco will probably have to bear greater burdens. The Imperial Tobacco Company, by showing larger profits and increasing its dividend distribution from 23 per cent. to 23½ per cent. tax free, appears to be asking for trouble. Surely it is unwise to advertise the fact that the tobacco trade as a whole is conspicuous for its failure to pass on the benefit of lower production costs to the consumer. Frantic efforts are being made by certain tobacco companies to dissipate some of their extra profits in competitive "gift coupon" schemes so as to avoid the necessity of bringing down their selling prices. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer decides to make the brewery and tobacco industries pay more towards the cost of the "dole," part of which is being steadily spent on drink and smoke, justice will be done, and, as far as tobacco is concerned, the Imperial Tobacco combine will have only its thirty-four directors to blame. Perhaps the latter felt it necessary to combat the depressing influence of Sir Hugo Cunliffe-Owen who anticipated a reduction in the final dividend of British American Tobacco as a result of bad trade in China and India accentuated by the fall in silver and the Indian boycott. But it is never wise for a taxable industry to talk "sunshine" on the dawn of a Budget day.

\* \* \*

There is a great deal in Mr. Goodenough's speech to the shareholders of Barclays Bank with which Sir Henry Strakosch will not agree, but few will quarrel with the soundness of his views on tariffs and war debts. Protection as a policy, he declared, would be incompatible with the duties and responsibilities of a great creditor nation and an international money market. Only such tariffs should be imposed as would not injure that position. Great Britain, he said, by cancelling £2,250,000,000 of war debts had enabled the debtor countries to continue their economic existence and to buy British and other foreign manufactured goods. The same benefit would accrue to America if she would cancel the war debts due to her amounting to nearly £2,400,000,000. Mr. Goodenough put the suggestion as a purely business proposition. The gain to America, he declared, as a great exporting country in having solvent customers for her goods, and in increasing their purchasing power, would be immense.

\* \* \*

Last June, when the speculative investor had lost his way in the markets, I called attention to the signpost pointing towards gold-mining areas. In the last trade slump (1921) South African gold-mining shares (Kaffirs) enjoyed a rise of over 50 per cent. I do not suggest that they will rise 50 per cent. during the present slump—they have not started from so low a level as in 1921—but it is logical that the output of gold, the money price of which is fixed, should be stimulated when production costs fall owing to the cheapening of mining machinery, chemicals, and stores, and that investors should be attracted to the shares of the gold producers whose profits and dividends are increasing. You ask why Kaffirs have not already responded to this logic of events? In the first half of a

trade slump the speculative investor runs away from all equity shares—from gramophones to gold—regardless of their different merits, but in the second half of the depressing round, when he has abandoned hope of an early improvement in industrial or commercial equity shares, he begins to realize that gold-mining companies are prospering, and returns, appropriately enough at the Christmas holidays, to the "Kaffir circus." There is every indication that this hour is come. The leading "Kaffir" shares are at the moment full of dividend and attractive yields can be obtained, as will be seen from the following table:—

	Low Price 1930	Present Price	Div. Accrued	Annual Div. Rate %	Div. Yield %
Crown Mines 10s. shs. ....	3 1-32	4	3/6	67½*	8.8
Government Areas 5s. shs. 1½		1 9-16	2/3	90	15.5
Springs £1 ... ..	2½	3 3-16	4/0	37½*	12.6
Geduld £1 ... ..	3¼	3 15-16	3/3	32½	8.6
Sub Nigel 10s. ... ..	1½	3¼	3/0	50*	8.4

\* In these cases dividends have been increased.

I prefer Crown Mines and Geduld for the interest which they have in promising new ground. Theoretically Kaffir shares should rise until commodity prices recover and attract speculative investment back into industrial and commercial equity shares, but I fancy that if the rise develops very far the South African finance houses will unload part of their holdings. The shares I have quoted go ex dividend early in February.

\* \* \*

An ordinary share that persists in rising when other shares are falling is worth recording. Thomas Tilling £1 ordinary shares never fell below 89s. 4½d. last year, and have lately risen to 106s. 3d. The market, of course, anticipates a bonus or an issue of shares on bonus terms. Londoners, when they ride in one of the handsome Tilling buses, are being carried by a combine in disguise. In 1928 Thomas Tilling and the British Electric Traction handed over their provincial traction interests to the British Automobile Traction Company, which now controls more passenger motor vehicles than any other combine in the world. Thomas Tilling received 526,832 shares of £1 in B.A.T., valued in the market to-day at 44s. 4½d. In 1929 the home railways entered into an agreement with B.A.T. for the co-ordination of road and rail services, and paid it a handsome price for a half-interest in most of its provincial omnibus companies. Herein lies the intriguing element in Thomas Tilling shares. No one knows the real value of the B.A.T. holding. All the operating companies pursue a prudent financial policy, and pile up reserves; so does B.A.T.; so does Thomas Tilling. And the operating companies are flourishing on cheaper petrol and passengers stolen from the railways. If only the railway stockholder had had the courage to switch into Thomas Tilling shares when he first saw the motor-buses running on the country roads!

\* \* \*

A friend writes to protest against my remark last week that "inflation in Australia seems inevitable." Lack of space prevented a proper explanation of my views. Inflation in Australia would, of course, be harmful. It would put up internal prices against the primary producers, and would be no solution of the real problem. The income of Australia has suffered a terrible decline as a result of the cessation of external borrowing and the collapse in wool and wheat prices. If the prices of her export products do not recover substantially this year, default stares her in the face. What she really needs is a loan to tide her over this difficult period, but a loan from this country would not be forthcoming unless certain safeguards were granted. Unfortunately, the Australian politicians do not appear to be willing to consider safeguards at all. Hence my somewhat despairing cry that inflation seemed inevitable. But, of course, I hope that saner views will prevail.

1931

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